

**CHRISTIAN  
CONTRIBUTION  
TO  
INDIAN LANGUAGES  
AND  
LITERATURES**



Edited by  
**S. INNASI  
V. JAYADEVAN**

# **CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES**

**Edited by  
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# CONTENTS

	Page No
<b>Preface</b>	v
<b>Profile of the Contributors</b>	vii
<b>Key - note Address</b> <b>Dr. K.M. George</b>	1
2. <b>Christians and Bengali</b> <b>Dr. Julian S. Das</b>	17
3. <b>Christians and Gujarati</b> <b>Fr. Francis Parmar S.J.</b>	33
4. <b>Christians and Hindi</b> <b>Dr. Sarada Ramani</b>	53
5. <b>Christians and Kannada</b> <b>Dr. Edward Noronha</b>	61
6. <b>Christians and Malayalam</b> <b>Dr. Scaria Zacharia</b>	68
7. <b>Christians and Marathi</b> <b>Dr. Sai Prasad</b>	93
8. <b>Christians and Oriya</b> <b>Dr. Siniruddha Dash</b>	104
9. <b>Christians and Punjabi</b> <b>Dr. Madhu Dhawan</b>	116
10. <b>Christians and Sanskrit</b> <b>G. Prabha</b>	127
11. <b>Christians and Tamil</b> <b>Dr. S.V. Shanmugam</b>	143
12. <b>Christians and Telugu</b> <b>Dr. G. Krupachary</b>	159

	Page No
13. Christians and Urdu Dr. Syed Safiullah	166
14. Christians and Tribal Languages Dr. K. Karunakaran and Dr.V. Jeya	174
15. Christians and Anthropology Dr. V. Karuppaiyan	192
16. Christians and Education to the Disabled Sr. Rita Mary	200
17. Christians and Journalism Dr. J. Josephine	206
18. Valedictory Address Dr. N. Balusamy	214

## PREFACE

This volume is an anthology of papers presented at the National Seminar held in Dhyana Ashram, Madras, between 28th and 30th January 1994. The general theme of the seminar was the CONTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIANS TO INDIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES. This seminar was organised by the Chair on Tamil Christian Literature, University of Madras, as part of its first decennial celebrations, with financial assistance from MISSIO.

This volume consists of sixteen research papers, apart from a key-note address and a valedictory address, all throwing light on different aspects of the diverse contribution of Christians to Indian languages, literatures and a few other disciplines.

Languages like Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and Tribal Languages as well as disciplines like Anthropology, Education to the disabled and Journalism have been covered in the papers included in this volume. Still there are other Indian languages and disciplines left uncovered by this volume.

As such, it is incomplete; yet it is highly informative. It may be even defective in certain respects; yet it is valuable in some other aspects. We are confident that it would enlighten and enrich its readers to a considerable extent. We are also optimistic that it would lead to bring out a comprehensive and exhaustive volume dealing with the contribution of Christians to India covering all languages, literatures, culture and disciplines.

With this optimistic note, we are glad to commend this volume to the attention of all those who are interested in the discipline.

We would like to place on record our appreciation for Dr.V.Murugan, Thiru N.Ilango and Thiru M.Edward Solomon Raja for their love of labour that helped to a great extent organise the National Seminar and bring out this volume. M/S Venus Compugraphics, M/S P.R.Lithographers and M/S Avvai Achukkoodam also deserve our appreciation for their neat execution, that too, in record time.

Looking forward to your valuable suggestions and constructive criticism.

Editors

27.2.1994

## PROFILE OF THE CONTRIBUTORS

### Prof. S. INNASI

**Prof. S. Innasi** has been adorning, since its inception, the Chair on Tamil Christian Literature in the University of Madras instituted by the Government of Tamil Nadu through his yeoman service to Tamilology, especially Christian Tamilology. He has published to his credit more than forty works covering different areas of Tamil language and literature such as grammar, linguistics, lexicography and literary criticism. He is also skilled in creative writings and elocution, apart from critical editing. More than forty scholars have got Ph.D. and M.Phil. degrees under his able guidance. He is also recipient of various titles and awards in recognition of his profound scholarship and diverse talents. On invitation he has visited England, France, Italy, Malaysia and Singapore. He was serving as the Professor and Head of the Post-graduate Studies in Tamil and Research Centre, St. Xavier's College, Palayamkottai before he took up the present assignment in the University of Madras.

### Dr. V. JAYADAVAN

**Dr. V. Jayadavan** has been a Reader in the Dept. of Tamil Language, University of Madras, since 1973. He is also the Director, Publications Division of the University, since 1988. With a first class in M.A. (Annamalai University) and an experience of two years as Tutor (in Vivekananda College, Madras), he joined the University of Madras as Lecturer in 1973, where he received his Ph.D. for his research on the 'History and Development of Tamil Lexicography'. He had special training in lexicography under the direct supervision of Prof. Ladislav Zgusta of the Illinois University. His



fields of specialisation are Lexicography, Translation, Book-Publishing and Literary Criticism. About 40 Scholars received Ph.D. and M.Phil degrees with his guidance. He has several publications to his credit. He has visited Malaysia and Singapore.

### **Dr.K.M. GEORGE**

Born in 1914 in Idayaranmula, Kerala **Dr.K.M. George** took his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Madras. His professional career started in Madras Christian College as Lecturer in Malayalam (1940-55). Later, he held several posts such as Assistant Secretary and Regional Secretary, Central Sahitya Academy (1955-69), Chief Editor, Malayalam Encyclopaedia (1969-75), Chief Editor, Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature and Comparative Indian Literature and Chief Editor, Modern Indian Literature. He is presently editing Masterpieces of Indian Literature for National Book Trust. He has visited USA as visiting Professor, Chicago University in 1964 and as course coordinator for Malayalam Language Teaching, California University. He was selected for the Soviet Land Nehru Award and visited USSR in 1987 and was awarded Padmasri in 1988. He has published more than 30 books in Malayalam and 10 books in English.

### **Dr. JULIAN S. DAS**

**Dr. Julian S. Das** born on November 18, 1966, joined the Jesuits of the Calcutta Province in 1985, and after the initial training for four years, completed B.A. in English literature with Honours from St.Xavier's College, Calcutta. Presently he is doing M.A. in English at Loyola College, Madras. Apart from contributing articles in Tamil, English and Bengali, he reports to two Catholic news agencies South Asian Religious (SAR) News, and Union of Catholic Asian (UCA) News.

### **Fr. FRANCIS PARMAR S.J.**

**Fr. Francis Parmar S.J.** is at present working as Lecturer in the department of Gujarathi in St Xavier's College, Ahmedabad. He is also attached to the Premajyoti Institute of Religious and Cultural studies, Ahmedabad. His field of specialisations are religious studies, cultural studies, literary studies and the historical studies. He has authored several articles on Christians and their contributions to India especially to Gujarathi language, literature and culture. He also knows many languages including English and Hindi.

### **Dr.SARADA RAMANI**

**Dr.Sarada Ramani** is holding three M.A. degrees i.e., in Hindi, English and Sanskrit and two diplomas i.e., in Linguistics and in German, besides B.Ed., and Ph.D. in Hindi. She has been working as Lecturer in Hindi, University of Madras Since 1983. She has authored three books and several articles.

### **Dr. EDWARD NORONHA**

**Dr. Edward Noronha** is now a Lecturer in the Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore. He did his Ph.D research on "The Contribution of Christians to Kannada". He has authored several articles.

### **Dr. SCARIA ZACHARIA**

**Dr. Scaria Zacharia** is a teacher of Malayalam Language and Literature in the Post-graduate Dept. of Malayalam in St. Beschmes College, Chauganassery, Kerala affiliated to M.G. University. He has special interest in Contemporary Malayalam fiction, Cultural history, Malayalam linguistics, literary theory, textual criticism, editing and translation. He worked as a research fellow in Tuebingen University, Germany on invitation. He is currently

editing the Tuebingen University Library Malayalam Manuscript series.

### **Dr. A.B.SAI PRASAD**

**Dr. A.B.Sai Prasad** is now Professor and Head of the Dept. of Hindi, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. He got his M.A. in Hindi from S.V. University, Tirupati and Ph.D. from the University of Madras for his research on 'A Comparative Study of Early Novels in Hindi and Telugu'. He has translated short stories from Kannada, Tamil, Hindi and English into Telugu and from Tamil into Hindi. He has authored several articles.

### **Dr.SINIRUDDHA DASH**

**Dr. Siniruddha Dash** has been working as Reader in the Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Madras Since 1987. He got his M.A. and Ph.D. in Sanskrit from the Centre for Advanced study in Sanskrit, University of Poona where he also got his P.G. certificate and Ph.D. in Linguistics at the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute. Earlier he worked in the Sanskrit Dictionary project at Poona

### **Dr. MADHU DHAVAN**

**Dr. Madhu Dhavan** is now the Head of the Dept. of Hindi, Stella Maris College, Madras. She with M.A. and Ph.D. in Hindi (Bangalore University) has several publications which include two dramas, three novels and one translation. She is the editor of Anubathi, a Hindi quarterly. She is a member of the editorial board of Desh Ki Raunak monthly. She has also contributed to literary Criticism and Journalism among other disciplines.

### **Thiru G. PRABHA**

**Thiru G. Prabha** is now working as Lecturer in the Dept. of Oriental Languages, Loyala College, Madras and part-time research scholar in the Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Madras. Earlier he worked as Lecturer in Sanskrit at Govt. Sanskrit College, Trippunithun and St. Joseph's College, Tiruchi, after having studied at Trivandrum and Tirupati. He has published short- stories in Malayalam and articles in Malayalam and English.

### **Prof. S.V. SHANMUGAM**

**Prof. S.V. Shanmugam** is now working as a Senior Fellow in Central Insitute of India Languages, Mysore after his retirement from the CAS in Linguistics, Annamalai University where he served between 1959 and 1992. He has published about 16 books, 11 in Tamil and 5 in English. Two of his books were awarded prizes by the Govt. of Tamil Nadu and by the Tamil University. He has to his credit published about 120 research papers. He has visited U.K., Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore on academic invitations. He is currently working on the project on 'Formation and Development of Malayalam'.

### **Dr. G. KRUPACHARY**

**Dr. G. Krupachary** is now the Reader and Director of P.G. Research in Telugu, Nagarjuna University. Besides M.A. and Ph.D. in Telugu he has a P.G.Diploma in Sanskrit. His fields of specialisation are classical and Modern Telugu Literature, Telugu Inscriptional Study. Telugu Christian Personal Names, Telugu fiction and Telugu Christian Literature. He has produced 5 Ph.Ds and 6 M.Phils. He is also skilled in writing dramas

### **Dr. SYED SAFIYULLAH**

**Dr. Syed Safiyullah** is now Reader in Urdu, University of Madras. He has two P.G. degrees, one in Urdu and the other in Persian. He also possesses M.Litt. and Ph.D. degrees. Before he joined the University of Madras in 1976, he was serving as an Assistant Professor in the Govt. Arts College at Vellore and at Presidency College, Madras. He has authored about 4 books.

### **Prof. K.KARUNAKARAN**

**Prof. K.Karunakaran** now heads the Dept. of Linguistics, Bharathiar University, Coimbatore. Earlier he was in Annamalai University. He has two post graduate degrees one in Tamil and the other in Linguistics, apart from Ph.D. and Diploma in Kannada. His fields of specialisation are Sociolinguistics, Language Planning, Tamil Linguistics, Stylistics, Dialectology and Folkloristics. He has produced 19 Ph.Ds and 27 M.Phils. He has authored about 35 books and 200 papers. He has visited U.S.A., U.K., Canada, Belgium, Germany, Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Holland, Nepal etc.

### **Dr. V.JEYA**

**Dr. V.Jeya** is now working as Lecturer in Tamil, Bharathiar University Coimbatore. She has written about 5 books and 50 articles. Her fields of specialisation are Modern Literature, Stylistics, Folkloristics and Journalism and Communication.

### **Dr. V. KARUPPAIYAN**

**Dr. V. Karuppaiyan** has been a Reader in Anthropology, University of Madras, since 1984. He has been conferred D.Sc. degree by the Medicina Alternative in 1987 at Copenhagen. He has worked as Social Worker, Family Planning Extension Educator, Extension Officer (Panchayats), and a Social Scientist in Government of Tamil Nadu for a decade from 1965. He has written a few books and numerous articles.

### **Dr. (SISTER) RITA MARY**

**Dr. (Sister) Rita Mary** has been the principal of Little Flower Convent, Higher Secondary School since 1971. She has been serving for the cause of education for physically handicapped children. She has been member in various high level committees concerning education to the disabled in the ministries of the State and Central Governments besides some International Committees. She possesses degrees like B.Sc., B.T., M.Ed., and Ph.D. and Diplomas in Linguistics, S.D.T.D. (Bombay), D.A.S.E.D. (Manch), and I.C.M.R.M. (Nether). She has participated in several National and International seminars. She has visited U.K. Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland and Italy.

### **Dr. J. JOSEPHINE**

**Dr. J. Josephine** is now Reader and Head of the Dept of Journalism/Communication, University of Madras. She got her M.A. (Journalism) in 1976 from the University of Mysore and Ph.D. (Communication) in 1993 from the University of Madras. Her area of specialisation: Film studies and women and Media studies. Collaboration with many church initiatives in the field of Journalism and communication.

### **Prof. N. BALUSAMY**

**Prof. N. Balusamy** is now practising as an Advocate at Madurai after retirement. He headed the Dept. of Tamil in Thiagaraja College, Madurai and in Annamalai University. He was also the Principal of S.S.A. College, Devakottai for sometime. He served as the Chief Editor, Encyclopaedia Centre, Tamil University, Thanjavur. He is a recipient of the Best Teacher Award from the Govt. of Tamil Nadu. He had served in various high level committees and academic bodies.

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# 1

## KEY - NOTE ADDRESS

K.M.George

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India with a population forming a fifth of the human race is a land of many languages. The extent of linguistic heterogeneity can be gauged by the number of mother tongues recorded by various authorities. In the first quarter of the century while working on his Linguistic Survey of India Sir George Grierson has listed 225 main languages. The census figures which are more modern and more dependable have recorded some what bewildering figures. The 1961 census has given a figure of 1652 languages taking into account dialects spoken even by 5 persons. The 1971 census gives a figure of 700 languages having taken into account only dialects spoken by 1000 people and above.

Even this figure is staggering. If we recognize only a dialect spoken by at least 5000 people as a separate language, the total number comes down to 259. The languages belong to four major speech families the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan (or Mongoloid) and the Austric. Though the languages vary considerably in structure and vocabulary, they have influenced each other profoundly, especially the Aryan and Dravidian, and they do possess certain common characteristics, which may be called specifically Indian.

All these languages are important to the community of speakers as they are the media of communication. However, the nation-state has to approach the problem of multiplicity in a practical way. The Indian Constitution (1950) initially approved only 14 major languages taking into consideration the numerical

factor, as well as their commercial, political and cultural importance. Later in 1957, the Government of India approved one more language viz. Sindi, and in 1993 three more languages viz. Konkani, Manipuri and Nepali bringing the total number to 18. These 18 languages belong to two families the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian. The Dravidian languages are Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam. The Indo-Aryan consist of Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Hindi, Sindhi, Urdu, Konkani, Manipuri, Nepali and Sanskrit.

The Central Sahitya Akademi which was set up in 1954 under the Chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru initially approved all the 14 scheduled languages and also English which was considered an effective link language and an important writing medium of many Indians. Then it approved Sindhi after considering various aspects. There was pressure from various quarters for the recognition of other languages also and within the next two decades the Akademi approved six more languages as literary languages on the recommendation of expert committees which examined them with reference to a set of criteria. Thus the Sahitya Akademi has now added to its list Dogri, Manipuri, Maithili, Rajasthani, Konkani and Nepali, making the total number 22.

Now what about the languages approved by the Government for teaching in schools? The number is 34. The mother tongue, whether it is recognised as a medium of instruction or not, is an important factor in the emotional make-up of an individual. The missionaries seem to have appreciated this and arranged translations of the Bible (or parts of the Bible) in as many as 130 Indian languages including some of the tribal languages.

The literary and cultural development of these languages is so varied that each has to be studied separately to understand its historical evolution and the nature of outside influences on it. Among the literary languages of India, Sanskrit occupies a special place. It is amazingly rich and luxuriant, yet precise, with a framework of its own. The Hindu religious ideas and perceptions have enriched the language and for centuries it has functioned as a great unifying factor. All modern Indian literatures have drawn considerably from its rich literature. Even though it continues to be



a great treasure house, it is not a living tongue and hence it is not quite relevant to our discussion here. The Tamil language has a literary history of about 2200 years; but the literary history of all other Indian languages accepted in the Schedule of the Constitution is considerably less.

### The Contribution of Christians

Our main theme is the contribution of Christians to the development of Indian languages and literatures. Languages and literatures can be treated separately. If we use the term "Christian Contribution", it can mean the contribution of Christians, both foreign and Indian, as also specifically Christian themes and ideologies propagated by non-Christians. And sometimes it can be a combined effort of Christians and non-Christians as in the translation of the Bible or compilation of dictionaries. In spite of geographical, linguistic and racial, obstacles, the intercourse between India and the outside world, especially Europe, has been continuing without much interruption. The subject, therefore, is so wide that we have to limit its scope to typical and illustrative cases.

Christian missionaries of the west were interested in the study of Indian languages, their main aim being the popularisation of the gospel of Christ in the languages of the people. The history of this exercise commences in a notable manner even before the 17th century. De Nobili, Beschi (Veerama Munivar), Caldwell and pope are some of the names which stand out. De Nobili popularised simple Tamil prose by writing Christian tracts. Beschi's literary works like *Tembavani*, *Catur Aharati*, *Tonnul Vilakkam* and *Paramartha Gurukathai* are very well known. His command of language is really surprising. Then we come to Bishop Caldwell who had an unusual mastery of Tamil though he was quite familiar with the grammatical structures of other Dravidian languages as well. Another unforgettable figure, who popularised the great ancient classics of Tamil by his fine English translations, is G.U. Pope. His translation of *Tiruvachakam*, *Kural* and *Naladi* had made him a good connecting link between Tamil Nadu and English speaking countries. This list would be incomplete without mentioning the names of Winslow, the compiler of a good Tamil-English dictionary. No doubt several Tamil scholars helped

him do this difficult job. These are some of the Christians from the west who contributed to the scientific study of Tamil and the development of its literature. Among the Indian Christians of Tamil Nadu who have earned a name in this realm, two names stand out, one is Vedanayakam Pillai, Munsif at Mayuram, whose novel *Pratapa Mudaliar Carittiram* (1879) marks the advent of the genre in Tamil. His musical compositions preaching universal ethics is also an admirable attempt. The other Christian writer is Krishna Pillai, a great scholar in Tamil grammar and literature. His translation of *Pilgrim's Progress* has been hailed as a masterpiece. Then there had been several Christians, Indian and foreign, who have substantially contributed to the enrichments of Tamil language and literature.

Now let us take a look at Kerala. Foreign contacts there assumed a new significance with the coming of the Portuguese at the end of the 15th century. They maintained contact for over a century and a half. The Dutch established strong foot-holds in Kerala in the second half of the 17th century. Very soon came the French East India Company as rivals to the English. As a result, some foreigners (both traders and missionaries) picked up Malayalam and some Malayalees similarly picked up these foreign languages. There is sufficient evidence in Malayalam vocabulary to show influence of Portuguese, Dutch and French. However, the British contact in a big way, though the beginning was not very conspicuous, affected the whole of India and continued for nearly two centuries. In the Company days, the British merchants lived as an alien aristocracy with very little contact with the Indian community. However, with the assumption of power by the British sovereign the contact widened and deepened steadily.

For the average Indian the English represented the west. It is the English who infiltrated Indian culture through their educational system, Literature and general approach to life. Education with a European slant was introduced in India in the closing decades of the 18th and early decades of the 19th centuries. This became some what easy because of the support received from Ram Mohan Roy (1772- 1833) and leaders of his line of thinking. He was an unusual intellectual who symbolised in himself the emerging modern era in India. He declared at a public meeting in

1829, "I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs." His biographers say that he was deeply religious, but his religiosity was quite elastic and he was at home with Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. In 1820 he wrote and published *The Precepts of Jesus* which shows his deep admiration for Jesus, whose preachings, according to him, would improve the moral and social state of mankind.

Many classes of Europeans came to India, traders, bureaucrats, soldiers and Christian missionaries. Some of them, especially the missionaries, were keen on studying the Indian languages. The earlier efforts were made by the Portuguese missionaries. It is interesting to note that the first grammars of many Indian languages were written in Portuguese. The preliminary works done by these Catholic missionaries were improved by later missionaries of the Protestant fold. In fact, the whole of the 19th century turned out to be a period of great spurt in the study of Indian languages through the production of competent grammars and dictionaries of the modern type in all the Indian languages.

It may appear strange that most of the Indian languages had no proper grammar or dictionary till the European savants came to grips with them. A few languages like Tamil and Kannada had old types of grammars but they were not quite useful to the Westerner. The dictionaries were not alphabetical. And when you come to think of it carefully, the surprise element fades out. Vocabulary is necessary for any language and the handling of the vocabulary (including the suffixes and prefixes) to form sentences conveying precise meanings needs the knowledge of a system, which is called grammar. The child learns the minimum vocabulary and the system (or structure) by mere listening and imitation. Thus the child is able to handle his mother tongue fairly well by the time he is four years old. The adult learns a language (which is a second language to him) in different way. He has already acquired a set of language habits with which he compares those of a new language. He is prone to be more logical, critical and selective in his absorption. Therefore he would welcome a grammar-based study. He has to

*be selective in his listening.* To avoid confusion he must be exposed to the grammatical aspects one after another under a definite plan. In such circumstances, written grammars and dictionaries will be useful in addition to basic textbooks. It was thus obligatory for the foreigner to prepare grammars and dictionaries for the Indian languages and this they did with the help of the local scholars. Even for the local people for an advanced and scientific study of their languages, grammars and dictionaries were highly necessary, because they are the basic instruments.

Initial steps were taken by the missionaries, some of whom had a flair for learning new languages. When we look back now, we find that a good percentage of the most important dictionaries and grammars was prepared by European savants. A European design and scientific approach is evident in these works which held the field for a long time. Here below are some of the outstanding works (not the earliest in every case) which promoted the study of modern Indian languages.

#### Grammars

Kanada	(1864) - T. Hodson
Malayalam	(1868) - H. Gundert
Tamil	(1859) - G.U.Pope
Telugu	(1872) - A.H. Arden
Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages	(1866) - Robert Caldwell
Assamese	(1839) - W.Robinson
Bengali	(1801) - William Care
Gujarati	(1847) - W.Clarkson
Hindi	(1875) - S.H. Kellog
Marathi	(1854) - E.R. Burger
Punjabi	(1835) - J.Newton
Oriya	(1831) - A.Sutton
Sindhi	(1872) - Ernest Trumpp
Urdu	(1838) - J.R.Ballantyne
Comparative Grammar of Modern Indian Languages	(1872) - J.Beams

## Dictionaries

(Giving meaning in the language and in English)

Kanada	(1894) - F.W.Kittel
Malayalam	(1872) - H.Gundert
Tamil	(1842) - Winslow
Telugu	(1852) - C.P.Brown
Assamese	(1867) - Miles Bronson
Bengali	(1815) - William Carey
Gujarati	(1854) - E.P. Robertson
Hindi	(1862) - J.T.Thompson
Marathi	(1831) - Molesworth
Punjabi	(about 1841) - J. Newton
Oriya	(1874) - W.Brooks
Sindhi	(1849) - Capt. Stack
Urdu	(1888) - T.Craven

Though Sanskrit had its own type of dictionaries, the one compiled by Monier Williams (1899) is considered the most outstanding in view of its design and comprehensiveness. And these books are not necessarily the first compiled by non-Indians. For instance, Gundert's Malayalam dictionary published in 1872 is more scientific and scholarly than a similar work by Benjamin Bailey, published as early as 1846. From the above lists of grammars and dictionaries we understand the extent to which foreigners were helpful in preparing necessary reference books for a scientific study of all the Indian languages. All the authors were Christians, the vast majority being missionaries, who were not only keen on studying the languages properly, but equally keen on helping others of the same persuasion. And these important works turned out to be invaluable aids to Indians themselves who were interested in studying their own languages systematical and to scholarly levels. Almost all such reference works were brought out in the 19th century. It must also be added that Indian scholars have assisted these orientalist and missionaries, but the planning and organisation was largely the contribution of the Westerners. Those basic instruments have been improved upon by many Indian scholars since then; but it was the lot of the Christian missionary to do the pioneering work in every language. More comprehensive and modern dictionaries compiled by Indian scholars since have

adopted the Western techniques of lexicography such as alphabetical arrangement and citing of sources. The *Amarakosha* type of dictionary, where synonyms are grouped under a subject-wise arrangement has gone out of vogue.

It should, however, be pointed out that some of these Western scholars looked at the structure of Indian languages with European eyes. Grammatical tools which were quite developed in the West were employed to dismantle the complicated machinery of the Indian languages. In the course of such operations they found some tools unsuitable, adjusted others with remarkable success, but they occasionally caused damage to certain parts of the machinery by using inconvenient tools. The difficulty was more with respect to Dravidian languages which had a structure which was thoroughly unfamiliar to them. However, savants like Gundert, Caldwell and Kittel succeeded remarkably well with these languages.

Though all the grammarians and lexicographers mentioned above, were acknowledged stalwarts in the languages specialised by them, one name stands out as a towering figure, that is William Carey. This remarkable man came to Bengal in 1793. His first assignment was managing an Indigo factory. During a period of 5 years he was engaged in preaching, teaching, language study and translation. In 1800 he became part of the Baptist Mission in Serampore. After that, he, along with three other colleagues, made history by mastering many Indian languages and arranging translations of the Bible in them. He had fixed his eyes on having the Word of God translated and printed in all the languages of the East within 15 years. And before 1820, at least the New Testament was translated and printed in 31 languages which included Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Nepalese, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Konkani. Carey organised these translations and edited them. The Baptist Mission Press in Serampore was hailed as a national institution and William Carey was the chief inspiration and guiding figure there.

### **Bible Translation and Development of Prose**

While we value the great contribution of the Christian

missionaries in the preparation of basic instruments for a systematic study of Indian languages, we should not forget the fact that their prime motive was to follow Christ's bidding which runs as follows: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature".

This takes us directly to the translation of the Bible. We have briefly noted the pioneering efforts of Carey in this regard. Even before this there were successful attempts at translating the Bible into Tamil and Urdu. The following will show the years in which Bible translations appeared in the major Indian languages:

### **Bible Translations**

<b>Language</b>	<b>Partial</b>	<b>Full</b>
Tamil	1714	1725
Urdu	1743	1843 (Dekkini 1745)
Bengali	1800	1809
Oriya	1809	1815
Sanskrit	1808	1818
Hindi	1806	1818
Marathi	1805	1819
Gujarati	1809	1823
Kannada	1812	1831
Assamiya	1819	1832
Malayalam	1811	1841
Telugu	1812	1854
Kashmiri	1821	1899
Sindhi	1825	1954
Punjabi (Gurumukhi)	1815	1959

The two agencies which were responsible for the preparation and publication of these translations were the Baptist Mission and the Bible Society; and they were greatly assisted by the Protestant Churches. The translators had to face many problems. The Indian languages, though rich in verse compositions, had no prose tradition of respectable quality. There were no doubt certain stilted

styles of prose writing which could be classed broadly as documentary type and the commentary type. Even strictly informative subjects like medicine or grammar were composed in verse form. And literature to a considerable extent was religion-oriented, especially Hindu, Buddhist and Jain. The developed modern languages of India were so highly impregnated with Sanskrit words, Hindu symbols and imagery that any worthwhile attempt at translation had to make good use of most of these. Into such a group of culture-coloured languages, a new scripture with an entirely different cultural background had to find its way. The biblical originals were in Hebrew and Greek. And the English translation of the Bible had already attained a high reputation. The translators, by and large, made use of these versions. Even ordinary words like God, Sin, Grace, Heaven, Hell, Gospel, Righteousness, etc. when translated into Indian languages appeared in a Hindu garb, so to say, There was little escape from this. Apart from the question of vocabulary, the syntax and grammar of Indian languages also presented a different set of problems.

And the Bible is not just one book written by one author. Each of the 66 books has its own approach and style. Almost all literary genres are found in the Bible. There are verse compositions and prose compositions. The Psalms, Job, Solomon's songs, and Lamentations are highly poetic pieces. Portions of the Gospels are highly epigrammatic. Even in prose we have several varieties, like descriptions, narratives, dialogues and dramatic sequences. So one can imagine how difficult it is for the translator to give an equivalent feeling and correct exposition of the original in a new tongue; And the Bible is not mere literature or philosophic ideas. It is *God's word* which has to appear *in Man's language*. And therefore, faithfulness to the original is of the highest importance and the translator is not expected to take any freedom with it.

Experienced translators have affirmed that in the final analysis, translation is a compromise - a compromise between the efforts to be faithful to the original and the effort to be idiomatic in the receptor language. And if in the translation of scripture, weightage is given to fidelity rather than to felicity of expression



one must understand that. I say this purposely because there have been diverse comments and criticism about certain usages and expressions in the various translations. Though there is an element of truth in such observations, it is mostly a question of cultural confrontation. Foreign idioms and usages peeping through a new medium will sound somewhat exotic if not awkward initially. But the language will in due course absorb such idioms and phrases, and consider this normal in its development and onward march

To exemplify this point let me take the case of Malayalam language in its contact and confrontation with English. When Nalappat Narayana Menon translated into Malayalam the great classic *Les Miserables* (Pavangal) he was convinced that a literal translation of idioms would be necessary to transfer the atmospheres of the novel into the new language. Some critics of the language laughed at his unusual approach. For instance the idiom 'Born with a silver spoon in his mouth' was translated very literally. A set of readers failed to appreciate the symbolic concept in the idiom and ruminated on its realistic aspect. 'How preposterous!' they must have thought: 'Spoon' is a part of their culture and hence 'silver spoon' graphically indicates the affluence of the parents. In our case, we do not have spoon in our traditional culture; but a gold or silver chain (Araññan) for the infant would well have served the purpose. But if our aim is to understand and appreciate a different culture, then what Nalappat has done is the right thing. The Bible translators have followed a similar style in many instances. Thereby idioms like the following have taken root in Malayalam and possibly in other languages too:

Blow one's trumpet  
Cast your net  
Forbidden fruit  
Land flowing with milk and honey  
Scapegoat  
Shepherd and his flock  
Wash one's hands of  
White-washed sepulchre  
Widow's mite  
Wolf in sheep's clothing

### Writing on the wall

These idioms have become so popular that politicians and journalists dabble in them to make their utterances really effective. I am sure that similar is the case with other Indian languages too.

One must also remember at this juncture that Christianity came to India with a big sweep and great vigor from Europe after the 16th century, while its earlier brand which hailed from Palestine was docile and quiet. The simple Christianity of Palestine had gained a momentum and a strength in Europe and had acquired a special cultural dimension without any parallel in other parts of the world. It is this Christianity imbued with a European brand of Christian culture that introduced the Bible in all the important languages of India. Along with this, biblical imageries, metaphors and symbols also became popular in the Indian languages. It has become natural for our creative writers to use symbols like the Cross, Calvary, Crown of thorns, etc. in their writings. Thereby all these languages increased their capacity for expression, widened the range of their communication facilities, especially in the area of prose. This is duly recognized by the historians of literature in the different languages.

### Informative Writing

Cultural pollination is a fact of history though it has both salutary and adverse effects. And as Jawaharlal Nehru has pointed out, we cannot afford to be parochial and self-complacent. We have the freedom, he says, to get into an intellectual prison. But note his clear-headed advice:

"It was India's way in the past to welcome and absorb other cultures. That is much more necessary today for we march to the One World of Tomorrow where national cultures will be intermingled with the international culture of the human race".

The European missionaries have given us a fine start in the area of cultural commingling. A new type of education was introduced in India in the early decades of the 19th century without rejecting the essential aspects of the traditional type of education. Many new subjects were introduced into the syllabus including the study of English language. Thereby new types of text-books and

additional reading materials had to be prepared in the Indian languages. This was done by the missionaries and local scholars. In order to organise such efforts on a national scale, Book Societies were set up. The Calcutta School Book Society, the Madras School Book Society and a similar one at Bombay rendered help in the preparation of books in the major languages of the Presidencies. The Missionary Societies attached to the various Protestant Churches also made their contributions in this regard. Thus by the middle of the last century several books came to be written in direct and simple prose. Such efforts paved the way for the development of literary prose of the informative type.

Another important component of the Christian contribution to the development of indigenous prose was the work done in the field of journalism. The first periodical to be published in any Indian language was the Bengali *Digdarshan* which started as a monthly in 1818 and soon became a weekly under the name *Samachara darpan*. The sponsors were the missionaries of the Baptist Mission. In Malayalam 30 years later i.e. in June 1847 the Basel Mission published a monthly from Tellichery under the title *Rajyasamacharam*, mainly as an aid to missionary work. In October the same year, the same Mission published another periodical *Paschimodayam* from the same place. This was planned to be secular and contained items on history, geography and astrology. The Church Missionary Society with headquarters at Kottayam brought out a monthly titled *Jnana Nikshepani* in November 1848. In due course the secular content of the journal increased. The periodical still functions as an organ of the Church of South India.

In quite a few of the major languages of India we find similar efforts to publish periodicals for communicating secular as well as religious ideas during the 19th century. They are the pioneers in the field of journalism. But the progress achieved in the last one hundred years or more has been tremendous. However, for this the Christians do not have any special claim except those in Kerala. Among the veterans in Malayalam journalism, both literary and otherwise, the names of Kandathil Varghese Mappila and K.C.Mammen Mappila (*Bhashaposhini* and *Malayala Manorama*) are

to be specially remembered. They are Christians of the soil and not Western Missionaries.

### Creative Writing

In the discussion so far, we have focused our attention, by and large on literature of information. We may now consider the other important area, viz. literature of power or creative writing. Our modernity is bound up with Westernism to a large extent. But Western influence is not to be identified with Christian influence, though the Christian element is a significant factor in Western ideals and approaches. Through various genres and forms of prose Western ideas and themes have percolated into Indian literatures. Even the very outlook of writers and consequently of readers changed and widened. Man's relation to society was re-examined. The relations between the sexes received a radical jolt. Women and their problems were better represented in literature. Communal prejudices and caste oppressions, sufferings of the have-nots, child marriage, widow marriage, dowry system superstitions like *Sati* and such social disabilities were accepted as suitable subjects for drama, fiction and poetry. Western literature functioned as a fertilizing agent in our creative writers. They chose Indian themes and wrote their creative pieces in a style and manner which was fresh, distinctive and appealing.

But then who were the creative writers? They were mostly non-Christians brought up in a Hindu tradition. Christians had only a minor share in the area of creative writing. Just a few foreign writers tried their hand in certain languages. Most of them turned out to be of low standard like the novel *Khataka vadham* (The Slayer Slain) in Malayalam, written by Mrs Collins. There are rare exceptions like Arnos Padiri in Malayalam and Father Beschi in Tamil who were towering figures. Among Christians of the soil there are of course some outstanding names; but they were recent converts from Hinduism. The great Bengali poet Michael Madhu Sudan Dutta, Tamil novelist Samuel Vedanayakam Pillai, the Telugu poet Joshua, and Marathi poet Narayan Vaman Tilak are shining examples. In many of our languages there are just a few of such Christians who have been recognized as celebrated writers.

Their writing will have to be considered as contributions from Christians.

The case of Kerala is somewhat different. One-fifth of the population consists of Christians and they have a long Christian tradition with a composite cultural background. They are no doubt an educated, forward - looking community, not particularly interested in literature and fine arts. But still in the modern period they have quite a few stalwarts in both creative and critical writings. Among poets of the new classical mould we could mention Kattakkayathil Cherian Mappila, Pravithanam Devasia, K. V. Simon and contemporary poets like P.C. Devasia, Sister Beninja and E.M.Kovoor, Parappurat, Kakkanadan and Zachariah may be remembered. And among early prose writers of distinction we could cite such names as Rev. George Mathan (grammarian) and Kandathil Varghese Mappila. Among modern critics, Joseph Mundassery and M.P. Paul are to be noted. I have only mentioned just a few, but there are many others like them.

From the above brief survey we see that, Christians, especially the foreign missionaries, functioned as path breakers by preparing standard reference works and reading materials, particularly giving a great push to prose writings in our languages. This was essentially a 19th century phenomenon, and thus made literary development natural and easy. From the closing decades of the 19th century, the Christian contribution assumes a different dimension, especially in creative writing. The Christian ferment in human relationship is quite clear, but the conveyers are mainly non-Christians which is quite natural in a country like India. The Western books which throb with a brand of Christian culture were basically responsible for initiating a leavening influence on our languages and literatures. But for its extensive and perhaps intensive impact, it was the Indian authors and Indian books that were more responsible. The reflex influence is sometimes more potent than the direct influence. However, both are important.

Summing up, we may say that the Christian contribution to the structural analysis and scientific study of Indian languages is of the highest importance. Then comes its role in the popularisation of simple but effective prose as also the promotion of informative

writing. And only then comes the Christian contribution to creative writing where its main claim lies in the treatment of Christian values and humanistic perceptions accepted by the leading writers of India. Last comes the more diffused and subtle influence of Christianity - its beliefs, imagery, symbols, myths and ideology - in the work of non-Christian writers. In the long run, this influence may be significant since it weaves Christian contribution to our literature into our composite tradition as one of its distinctive strands. Thus, Christians have both maintained their identity and articulated their part in a common Indian tradition.

## CHRISTIANS AND BENGALI

Julian S.Das

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It is said of Bengal that what Bengal thinks today, the whole India thinks tomorrow. The state of West Bengal has a very prominent position both in the history of the colonial British and India. Apart from being the epicenter of the British empire in India, West Bengal had initiated various reform movements, both religious and secular, which later on spread to other parts of the subcontinent and changed its face and fate considerably.

But Christianity in West Bengal is relatively young, when compared to the Thomas-Christians of the South India, or the Francis Xavier-Christians of the West. Thus the contributions of Bengal Christians to both language and literature of the state is relatively very little.

It is to be noted by way of introduction that the language of both West Bengal and Bangladesh, is the same, Bengali. Due to the geographical proximity, Bangladesh, which was divided from India in 1947 to form part of yet another sovereign state, Pakistan, and further divided from Pakistan in 1971 to form a country of its own, Bangladesh, was part of the undivided Bengal for a long time. Culturally, linguistically and ethnically both West Bengal and Bangladesh share almost everything in common. Thus this study while surveying the contributions of Christians to Bengali, deems the Christians of both the places as a unified whole.

Similarly, Christians in West Bengal contributed to the development of both literature and language, as one body, with no

specific affiliation to one particular denomination or sect, though in reality they did conform to them. Thus this study would forego the denominational affiliations, and look at their works as contributions by Christians. However, it is not to demean their affiliations to their own denominations, that we forego mention of them, but to express their common endeavour towards enriching the language and culture of the place they adopted as their own.

This particular survey of the contributions of Christians to Bengali literature, and language is not exhaustive; quite many of the Bengali Christian poets, dramatists and authors remain anonymous, and their works left unpublished quite often collecting dust in some cup-boards. That explains the limitations of this work, which in no way covers all the contributions of Christians to Bengali, but attempts to highlight some of the major contributions by them.

### 1. State of Christians in Bengal and their achievement in areas other than Literature and Language

It was primarily the Portuguese missionaries, who came in tradeships to Bengal, the "Paradise of India", that sowed the seeds of the gospel in the beginning of the 16th Century. "Thus Christianity in the form of Catholic faith, was first introduced to this part of the world through the zeal of Portuguese missionaries, and through the generosity of the Portuguese Government."<sup>1</sup> An earliest mention of the foreign missionaries states that two Jesuit fathers, *Anthony Vaz* and *Pedro Dias* were in Bengal already in 1576.<sup>2</sup>

Christian population in both West Bengal and Bangladesh is a negligible minority: in West Bengal 0.59 per cent of the total population, in comparison to 76.96 per cent of Hindus and 21.56 per cent of Muslims; in Bangladesh Hindus, Buddhists and Christians together form 15 per cent, in comparison to 85 per cent of the population following Islam, the state religion.

The contribution of Christian missionaries in the social and educational awakening can never be denied; as a matter of fact, the foreign Christian missionaries paved way to the social renaissance of Bengal; *Raja Ram Mohan Roy*, the great social reformer of the 18th century, was deeply influenced by the English education imparted



by missionaries. Thus though not directly, the missionaries had a deep impact on the people of Bengal through out its growth-period.

In the area of Western education and the strengthening of the Indian cultural roots, Fort William College, Serampore College, Scottish Church College, Loreto College and St Xavier's College, to name a few, are the gifts of Christians to Bengal.

## 2. Contributions of Christians to Bengali

Before we plunge into a survey of Christians' contributions to Bengali, a few words on the growth of Bengali would be of paramount importance.

The earliest form of Bengali writing dates back to the period between eighth and 12th century AD. However, from the literary point of view, the *Natha* literature, emerging out of the Buddhist Sahajiya cult of the 12th century initiated a new era of literary outlook and atmosphere. Vaishnava cult gained strong roots in the middle of the 14th century, giving rise to Radhakrishna lyrics.<sup>3</sup>

The first major work in Bengali, however, is a translation of *Ramayana* by Krittivasa Ojha. Epic poems, in line with the Sanskrit epics, came to be written in Bengali, and came to be known as Mangal Kavya. There are three varieties of the Mangal Kavya: *Manasamangal*, *Chandimangal*, and *Dharmamangal*.

Since the advent of Christian missionaries in Bengal takes place in the 16th century, their contributions to Bengali starts only after settlement. However, in the earlier period, the contribution of the missionaries is very significant, in the area of literature and language.

### i. Literature

In the literary arena, the Christians have contributed considerably for its growth and development, so much so, the literary history of Bengali language would be incomplete if the contributions of Christians were left out

#### a. Poetry

*Michael Madhusudan Dutt* (1824-1873), a Bengali convert from Hinduism to Christianity, holds the glory of being the Father of Modern Bengali poetry.<sup>4</sup> He is also the representative figure of the

renaissance in Bengal, and clearly shows the western impact on contemporary Indian culture. He is the first one to experiment with Bengali verse, and thus nurture it to the shape it is now.

Dutt introduced sonnet form in Bengali poetry through his collection of sonnets *Chaturdarshapadi kabitabali* (1866), and introduced blank verse, equivalent to that of Christopher Marlowe and John Dryden, in his first narrative poem *Tilothama Sambhab Kabya*; however, his magnum opus *Meghnadabadh Kabya*, is the first major epic in modern Bengali. Though the theme is borrowed from Valmiki, the treatment with a romantic touch belongs to Dutt himself.

He attempted to translate the classical ideologies and literature into Bengali, adapting them to Bengali culture and ethos. One can see the influences of Homer, Virgil, Tasso and Milton in his poetry.

Christian missionary education had influenced several men and women to write poetry, prose, and plays in the western model. If Dutt 'indiginised' the Western literature with their sonnets and blank verses, his contemporary and friend *Rangalal Bandyopadhyay* (1826-87) did something in the similar vein.

Rangalal wrote because of the impulse to kindle patriotism in his countrymen. He wrote *Padmini Upakhyan* (1858) to support "statement against the extreme disparagement of Bengali poetry and the doubt often felt about the possibility of poetic achievement for a native dependency."<sup>5</sup>

But about his literary career and his keen sense to do something lasting in Bengali literature impelled him to state, "I have studied English poetry considerably most of all, and it has been long my practice to compose Bengali verse in that pure mould. The more Bengali poems will be composed in the pure English fashion, the more will shameless and ugly poems vanish from our view and the fewer their admirers will also grow."<sup>6</sup>

His other works include *Karmadevi* (1862), where a brahmin bard narrates the story to a thoughtful traveller; and his *Sutra Sundari* (1868), was written with four cantos, in line with the epic in the West.

Him chandra (1838-1903), whose *Vrtra Samhar* conforms to the form of Western epics and in length surpassing all previous attempts, and Nabin Chandra, whose *Palashir Juddha* closely allied to the verse tales of Scott or romances in verse, were both greatly influenced by the Christian Western education.

#### b. Prose

Modern Bengali prose is very young; to be precise, any formal treatise, book of literary value, or serious topic, is still now written in what is called *Sadhu Bhasha* (literary language), with a high dose of Sanskrit terms, which is beyond the grasp of the ordinary peasants, as opposed to *Chalti Bhasha* (spoken language) of the common folks. At the time of the renaissance of Bengal, a more acceptable, and informal written language came to be evolved, thanks to the contributions of the missionaries.

The contribution of the Portuguese missionaries, playing the role of precursors, in the history of Bengali prose literature can never be denied. They were followed by the British Protestant missionaries, who brought the prose literature to what it is today.

It was the Portuguese Jesuits, who first introduced the printing press in India; a group of Jesuits imported printing press into Goa in 1556, and in 1557, the first book, a Tamil translation of St Francis Xavier's *Doctrina Christao*, was published. Subsequently in 1559, the Jesuit priest, Father Francisco Fernandes at Sreepur in Dhaka prints a catechism for the benefit of both Hindus and Muslims, in the form of 'dialogues'.<sup>7</sup>

*Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad* was the first book to be written by Dome Antonio D'Rosario, a Bengali converted to Christianity, by the Portuguese. Thus it holds a special mention in the history of Bengali literature. It contains a long debate between a brahmin and a priest on reincarnation ('avatara'). "Another importance of this book lies in its description of the polished prose style of those ages. Experiments in Bengali prose had not entered literary arena then; and so there could not have been any model in front of the author."<sup>8</sup> This work brilliantly incorporates both the literary language of poetry and the colloquial language of the common-folks of Bengal.

This book was written in Roman script, and was probably not published. According to some, this book was published in 1734 from London, capital of Portugal.<sup>9</sup> Quite often Antonio uses a very objectionable vocabulary, while describing the Hindu deities. For instance, he had openly proclaimed that Lord Krishna belonged to a band of demons.

He also published a Bengali book, *Kripa Sastrer Arthabhed* in 1743 from Lisbon in Portugal. This book contained Bengali in Roman letters on the one side, and the same thing written in Portuguese on the other side of the book. About this book, the editor of the book, *Two Hundred Years of Bengali Printing and Publishing*, Sri Chittaranjan Bandopadhyaya, says: 'A Bengali book published in roman characters: this too is a preparation. This was followed by the birth of printing in Bengali, and that was the beginning of the new history of the old era'.

William Carey, a Serampore missionary of the Baptist Mission, had initiated the process of prose evolution from the pedantic, verbose style to a very simple colloquial style. Stephen Neill states, "In his spare time, Carey wrote Bengali Colloquies, which are recognised by the experts to have laid the foundations of modern Bengali prose literature."<sup>10</sup>

Two books of William Carey are still considered by many as having enduring values. Carey was deeply fascinated by the colloquial tone and music of Bengali. His first book was *Kathopakothan* (*Dialogues intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengalee Language, in short Dialogues*). With a dramatic touch, he had given a lot of exercises for 'dialogues'. It is argued by some<sup>11</sup> that the whole work could not have been written by Carey, as the colloquial style proves the hand of a local Bengali.

There are thirty-one chapters in this book, and we have an elaborate description of the conversation between farmers on various topics, such as the village market, women going to village markets, the reign of zamindars, and "we have an example of all possible groups of people in society. As a fruit, in this book one can get the actual picture of society in his times."<sup>12</sup>

Carey's second prose work was *Ithihasamala* (1812); though it was meant to be a history book, it contains a collection of stories from the East and the West. He has also included fables from Bengal. But Kshetra Gupta argues "even in this case, probably, Carey was merely an editor and compiler, and not an actual writer."<sup>13</sup>

Reverend Krishnamohan Bandyopadhyay (1813-1885), according to Bhudeb Chowdhury, has not received due importance in the history of Bengali literature.<sup>14</sup> His first prose book to be published was *Upadesh Katha*, a collection of sermons. But he is better known for his contribution as an author of text-books. He had published an encyclopedia of thirteen volumes in Bengali, *Vidyakalpadrum*; and subsequently published its bilingual edition—Bengali and English.

One cannot deny the contributions of the Missionaries of Serampore Mission in the area of Bengali prose. Ashitkumar Bandyopadhyaya is of the opinion that they not only translated the Bible into Bengali, but they also published many books: Sanskrit Grammar-cum- dictionary (Byopadeb's *Mugdhabodh*, Carey's *Sanskrit Grammar*, and *Amarkosh* edited by Colbrook) and ancient Bengali literature (Krittivas' *Ramayan*, Kasidas' *Mahabharat*) and thus enriched Bengali literature.<sup>15</sup>

According to some of the contemporary historians of the Bengali literature and language, the contributions of Fr Paul Detienne, a French Jesuit from Belgium, can never be forgotten. His collection of essays, originally published in the literary magazine *Desh* and later on published as a book, *Dairir Chera Patha* (Torn Pages from a Diary) was adjudged a literary piece at the time of its publication.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from writing for dailies and periodicals, he also was responsible for the publication of a series of moral-based stories called *Pracha Jyothi Mala* (Light from the East Series), published from 1910 to 1968. Thus he established himself as an eminent Bengali writer.

His *Godya Parampara* (Generations of Prose Writers) gives a long list of all those who have contributed in some way or other for

the development of Bengali prose. *Rojnamcha* is again a collection of essays, dealing with day-to-day realities of life. His style in these books could be likened to the style of Addison and Steele in *The Spectator*, capturing the oddities of everyday life situations.

### c. Play

Alok Roy states that Madhusudan Dutt was the "first Bengali playwright to show remarkable concern for his art and he improved his skill with every new play."<sup>17</sup> The 'personal' themes he chose for his plays helped him to make best use of his skills; though critics accuse him for "most individualistic and independent"<sup>18</sup> approach in his plays, he dealt with larger questions of human existence.

Some of his plays, quite often farcical in nature, include *Ekei Kibole Sabhyata?* (Is this what is called Civilized Manner?), *Buro Saliker Ghare ro* (A Cat is known by its Whiskers) dealing with the abundance beyond measure of college educated, 'enlightened' young men of the day. *Sharmistha* (1859), *Padmabathi* (1860) end with a happy note, while *Krishnakumari* and *Mayakanun* end with tragic denouement.

Father Jacob Mangla Desai (1906-85) of Rangamatia parish has contributed for the growth of modern Bengali literature through his poems, essays and plays. Some of his most important plays include, *Ashimer Dak* (Call of Ashim), *Punyer Jor* (Effect of Virtues), and *Tin Kudi* (Three Paise), had become popular among Christians.

Anthony Bimal Ganguly (1924-81), an old student of St Xavier's College, Calcutta, had carved a niche for himself in the field of Bengali theatre. He had worked under many eminent drama personnel. In 1947, he directed *Misharer Kumary* (The Lady of Egypt), and 'Raktarekha' (Stained by Blood) in Calcutta. From 1952, he has been staging plays on cultural, social and religious themes; some of them are, *Erao Manush* (These too are men), *Shah Jehan*, *Tipu Sultan*, *Porabari* (Burnt House), to name only a few. He was the first one to let women characters to be done by women themselves in Bengal. In 1972, he was awarded the title 'Natyashree' by Triveni Student Welfare Society.

The contribution of Nidhan D'Rosario (1932-1985) in the cultural arena cannot be forgotten. He has spent 34 years of his life for literature, both Christian and secular. He wrote poetry, essays, short stories, novels; however, he was better known as a dramatist, rather than as a novelist or as a poet.

Better known among his plays are *Ashirbad* (Blessing), *Khelaghar* (House of Sports), *Shesh Pranthar* (Last Resort), *Ekusher Athmara Kanthe* (The Spirits of '21 Mourn), and *Ora Kara* (Who are they). It is to be noted that only some of his plays were published in the form of books.

## ii. Language

In the development of Bengali, through formulating the grammar of the existing language, both oral and written, and listing the words and their meanings in a scientific form, the contribution of the early missionaries from Britain ranks first. However the contribution of the local Christians in this regard cannot be overlooked.

When the Roman Catholic missionaries from Portugal reached Bengal, they first of all, built Churches in all villages. Those days there was no Bengali grammar, and so they, by their own efforts, according to their own intellectual capacity, composed Portuguese Bengali grammar and dictionary. Certain parts of these were published in Roman script from Lisbon. The reason for publishing them in Roman script is that there had not been printing blocks of Bengali letters then.

If we are asked to pick and choose one individual who has contributed significantly for the growth of the language, the credit would go to the Baptist missionary of Britain, Sir William Carey. It is essential to look at his literary career, leaving aside his missionary activities, at some length.

William Carey reached Calcutta in 1793, inaugurating a new era of Protestant missions. He was the son of a village school-master, and himself a shoemaker, teacher and a Baptist clergyman, dreaming of carrying Christian message to the whole world.

His linguistic aptitude foreshadowed the prodigious accomplishments of himself and his colleagues in translating Bible into Bengali, and into the tongues of the East, printing, formulating Bengali grammar and dictionary in the course of time.

Having settled at Serampore (Sree Rampore in Bengali), on the bank of the Hoogly river, about 11 km from Calcutta, he sought the protection of the Danish Governor in order to resist expulsion from the British government.

The foundation of the Bengal Association of Literature (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad) on April 29, 1894, was a milestone in the history of Bengali literature. The purpose of the Association is said to be "the cultivation and improvement of the Bengali language and literature".<sup>19</sup>

John Beames, ICS, Magistrate of Balasore wrote: "Bengal has so completely taken the lead in education and culture among the Provinces of India, that its literature has passed out of the stage in which that of the other provinces still remain and is now closely approximating to an European standard."<sup>20</sup>

Let us now look at the specific contribution of Carey and his colleagues, and Bengal Association of Literature in detail.

#### a. Grammar

One could venture to say that Carey was the first one to write the grammar of Bengali; the purpose could have had a selfish motive on the part of Carey, namely to help the missionaries coming to Bengal learn the language more easily. The title of the book runs as follows: *A Grammar of the Bengali Language*, 4th Edition, to which are added Dialogues intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengali Language, by W. Carey (1818).

One of the most significant contributions of the Augustinian priest of Portugal, involved in missionary activities in Bangladesh, Fr Manuel D'Asumpasoan, was the book entitled *Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla e Portuguez*, (Bengali Grammar and Bengali to Portuguese, Portuguese to Bengali Dictionary).<sup>21</sup>

Some of the officials of the East India Company had devoted some of their efforts for the exercise of Bengali prose, in order to



help the company in the administration. Nathaniel Brassey Halhead wrote *A Grammar of the Bengal Language* in 1778.<sup>22</sup> He specifies the purpose of the book in Sanskrit as "phiringana nupakarartham" (for the benefit of the foreigners). That is to say, this book was written to help the officials of the Company to learn the language easily. This was the first book to be published in Bengali script.

Halhead had mastered Bengali and had managed to simplify it for the novices. He had devoted eight chapters of the book to learn the alphabets, and go through the grammar up to the Bengali rhyme, and had given examples from the palm-manuscripts, and from Bengali prose literature. Since it was primarily meant for foreigners, it did not have any significant impact on the local people.

#### b. Dictionary

Priyaranjan Sen in his book, *Western Influence in Bengali Literature* states that the Bengal Association of Literature "has published a Bengali dictionary on scientific lines - has been preparing an authoritative list of scientific and technical terms in Bengali..."<sup>23</sup>

At times some of the British of the Company, while learning Bengali, had collected words and published books and dictionaries. Noteworthy among them is *Vocabulary*, or English to Bengali dictionary in two volumes, published between 1799 and 1802;<sup>24</sup> and it was deemed very useful to the natives desiring to learn English. Carey publishes his dictionary from the Mission Press, Serampore in 1815, and names it as follows: *A Dictionary of the Bengali Language* in which words are traced to their origin and their various meanings given (Vol 1), by W.Carey.

#### iii. Translation

Reference to the translations of the Bible into Bengali and other languages of the East, by William Carey and his colleagues has already been made. In addition to that Carey and his friend Joshua Marshman, self educated school-master, translated *Ramayana*.

Kenneth Scott Latourette is of the opinion that through the Bengali teaching aids and "his translation of the Bible, he became the pioneer in the development of a prose literature in Bengali."

He further observes that the Bible was translated into many of the main languages and dialects of the East. "Not only in some of the tongues which had previously not had a written form, but also in so widely used a language as Bengali, Christian missionaries were responsible for either the inception of a literature or gave a vernacular literature a marked impetus."<sup>25</sup>

Attempts were made by Peter Damingo Rosario, better known as Dungu Pandit of Bangladesh, to translate the plays of Shakespeare into Bengali. He translated *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet* and another play of Shakespeare. Furthermore, in imitation to the *Krishnaleela* of the Hindus, he composed *Jisuleela* (Divine Sport of Jesus).

Among those Christians who are involved in translation work into Bengali, mention has to be made of a group of Jesuit scholars, Mathew Schillings, Jean Englebert, Robert Antoine, and Pierre Fallon.

Father Antoine, while teaching Comparative Literature at the Jadavpore University, Calcutta, translated a lot of Sanskrit "sthothra" (verses of praise) to Bengali and published them. He also wrote articles in various learned Bengali journals. He translated, in collaboration with Prof. Bose, Virgil's *Aeneid*; and published the translation of a collection of ancient Greek plays.

In the field of translation, the figure of Father Detienne stands like a colossus; apart from translating spiritual books, including the translation of *The Imitations of Christ as Khristanukoran* into modern Bengali, he helped Father Christian Mignon in the translation of *The Bible* into modern literary Bengali.<sup>26</sup>

#### iv. Journalism

There were a few magazines and newspapers started by Christians, primarily with evangelization in mind. Magazines and newspapers became an extension of the oral preaching of the gospel, and religious instruction regarding Christianity in Schools.

The first Bengali monthly to be published was *Digdarshan* from Serampore Mission. It was started by Joshua Marshman in 1818.<sup>27</sup> Many of the regular items had a resemblance to the content of school syllabi; that is the reason why the editors called it 'monthly booklets', instead of calling it a magazine.

*Digdarshan* was also a magazine with religion in mind; based on Penny and Saturday magazines in the West, its main function was to carry propaganda in the form of sermons, dialogues and anecdotes from the Bible.

The first journal in Bengali, worth its name, to be published was *Samachar Darpan*, from the Serampore Mission, edited by Marshman.<sup>28</sup> It is said that Marshman was merely looking after the technical aspects of the journal, while the actual writing in Bengali was taken care of by a band of pandits from the College of Fort William. The first ones to be the Deputy-editors of it was Jaigopal Tarkalankar and Tarinicharan Siromoni.

This weekly journal, which was started just one month after the entry of *Digdarshan* ran till 1841, with the full support of the readers. In 1829, this journal became bilingual, Bengali and English. According to Bhudeb Chowdhury, 'the place of *Samachar Darpan* is incomparable. The pen-pictures of life of bengalees in the areas of language, literature, education, society, politics and religion are carved in the pages of this ancient journal.'

Priyaranjan Sen observes, "In the *Bangabandhu* (Friend of Bengal), a magazine in the latter part of the (19th) century, under the Christian management, it is remarkable how the paper bears the impress of Bankim Chandra's influence - a few lines from the *Bande mataram* are quoted as its motto, and there is an article, "Bankimbabur Krishnacharit banam Christocharit", i.e. bankim Babu's Krishna Charit versus Christa Charit."

At present some of the magazines and newspapers published by Christians in Bengal include, *Milanbithi*, *Yuvaprabaha*, and *Prasanga Alochana*. Mention has to be made of *Mohana*, bi-yearly journal published by Father Mathew Schillings SJ dealing with the socio-cultural and literary topics. This was begun from January 1993, and published from Calcutta.

### 3. An Evaluation of the Contributions of Christians to Bengali

The contributions of Christians to Bengali is very meagre, and one might think that it is quite insignificant in the vast literary field of Bengal, enriched by such eminent literary figures as Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Saratchandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore.

One of the greatest drawbacks of Christian literatures is that they do not easily get into the secular literary field. They are quite satisfied with the Christian literature and do not enter into the mainstream literary world by themselves.

Another drawback of the Christians contributing to literature is that they most often remain anonymous, and at times one get the feeling that they do not wish to proclaim their religious affiliation when they become prominent in the literary field.

Jerome D'Costa, in his book *Bangladeshe Catholic Mandoli* (Catholic Church in Bangladesh) states that it is a pity that the plays written by Christians are only meant for adults, with serious issues and problems. There is a scarcity of plays written by Christian playwrights meant for youth and children.

Perhaps a move towards uniting the Christian literature is what is needed. An example was set by Bangladesh on April 21, 1978. A conference for the Christian literature of Bangladesh was convened at the Cathedral parlour of Ramana. About 60 young and old participated under the chairmanship of Nidhan D'Rosario. As a result of this historical meet, 'Christian Writers Association of Bangladesh' was formed. But we are yet to reap the fruits of this association.

The survey of the contributions of Christians to Bengali literature and language proves that the contribution of the local people compared to that of the foreign missionaries from Portugal, Britain, and Belgium, is almost negligible. This can perhaps be explained by stating the position of Christians in Bengal. The almost invisible presence of Christians, makes their presence felt in the midst of the people of other religions, through other means, such as social and educational ministry.

Quite often the literary works of many of the Christian authors die immature deaths, due to the lack of financial support. There is no proper infrastructure to publish the works of Christian authors; for instance, at present there is no decent press owned by the Church in West Bengal.

### Conclusion

No doubt, the Christians of Bengal have made a very significant contribution to both language and literature. Their attempts to enrich both literary and linguistic nuances of Bengali, borrowing the best, traditions of the East and the West, and forming a style and content of its own class, can never be forgotten. It was Christians who injected life-blood into the literature of Bengal, which hitherto was lying in a stagnant position. If Bengalees can boast of a rich language and a variety of prose styles, it was due to the tireless work of the Christian missionaries.

The Church in Bengal is slowly rising up from its slumber, and more and more young men and women opt to enrich the local language and culture, fighting against the domination of English language and culture, promoted mainly by the Christian educational institutions. If the Church in West Bengal is more localised, building up infra-structure to promote local culture and literature, then perhaps, the Christian community in Bengal can boast of sharing the joy of building up a language and literature

### NOTES

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16. J. Remediose (ed), *Calcuttar Jishu Shangha* (Calcutta: Prabhu Jishur Girja, November, 1981), p.7.
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18. Ibid.
19. Priyaranjan Sen, p.67.
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22. Ibid. p.375.
23. Priyaranjan Sen, p.67.
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25. Kenneth Scott Laoturette, *The Great Century in Northern Africa and in Asia* (London: Harpar & Brother Publishers, 1944), p.96.
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## CHRISTIANS AND GUJARATI

Francis Parmar

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The Christian presence in Gujarat appears to be almost as old as Christianity itself. *Baryguza* or *Bharuch* is mentioned as the only port in Western India in the *Guide book to the Red Sea*, written about 60 A.D. The coastal route to India had been discovered in about 45 A.D. So it is reasonable to assume that Nestorian Christian merchants must have passed through, and some of them settled in Bharuch.

In 1321 the French Dominican Friar Jordan was invited to visit the Nestorian Christians settled in Bharuch. He baptised 115 people in six months' time.

The Portuguese established themselves in Diu in 1535, a place where they had won a victory as early as 1509. So too Daman in South Gujarat was sacked by the Portuguese in 1531 and secured in 1559.

The English chaplains limited themselves to the care of the European Christians and did not do any Evangelization work. However, Rev. Patrick Copeland, found opportunities to approach non-Christians and he did baptize certain young man, Peter in London on 22nd December 1616. This Peter was perhaps the first Indian to become Christian through the work of English-speaking Christians in Gujarat. James Gray (1770-1830), a Scotsman and himself a poet was tutor to the Young Rao of Kutch. He had a deep interest in the country of his choice. He gave up his beloved poetic and literary studies, and undertook the translation of the Gospel into Kachhi.

Thus there have been movements towards Christianity in Gujarat, but they have not caught on in Gujarat. The large scale missionary movement began, continued and flourished in Gujarat only after 1815 when The London Missionary Society began its work in Surat. Rev. William Fyvie arrived in Surat on 16th September 1815 and was joined by Rev. James Skinner a little later. They began studying Gujarati and since there was no dictionary nor grammar books to help them they compiled both. This work was completed in 1818. They also opened three schools one for Indian boys, one for European & Eurasian boys and one for girls. This was the first major contribution of the European Christian Missionaries to Gujarati Language. Once they had some mastery of the language they proceeded to translate the New Testament and it was published in 1821. Here it must be noted that William Carey (1761-1834) was one of the first to see the need of the Bible in the local languages. He got help of many scholars from the different language areas. He put them together at the College of Fort William, where the East India Company trained its junior officials and began to turn out translations with considerable speed and efficiency. The work on Gujarati New Testament began in 1808 and was finally completed and printed in 1820. R. Bikaneri and H. Awadhi were the ones who did the work. This work was printed in Devanagari script rather than the Gujarati script, the translation was poor and was little used in Gujarat.<sup>1</sup>

Carapeit Chator Aratoon (1781-1857) was the first Protestant missionary to arrive in Gujarat on 2nd February 1813. He did a specimen translation of part of Matthew's Gospel, and also translated a Catechism.

In addition to translating the Bible, the missionaries prepared many Gujarati tracts<sup>2</sup> and a small catechism. To facilitate this work they opened a printing press at Surat in 1820. This was the first printing press in Gujarat. In July 1821 the New Testament came out of this Press. In 1824 William Fyvie completed the work of translating the Old Testament in Gujarati and thus the entire Bible became available in Gujarati. The entire Bible, published in 1829, was in four large and cumbersome, but handsomely printed volumes.



Thus the early contribution of the Christians to Gujarati Language and Literature is limited to compilation of grammar books to help the new missionaries to learn Gujarati and translations of the Bible and various religious tracts to spread the message of Christianity. The language of these books is colloquial Gujarati. It is often difficult to understand due to the literal translations of theological terms. Non-initiates would find this rather hard reading.

As far as the work of printed word is concerned, it can be divided into the following seven major areas:

1. The Bible,
2. Grammars and Dictionaries,
3. School Textbooks,
4. Christian Literature,
5. Periodicals,
6. Hymnology,
7. Fiction, poetry and other contribution to the mainstream literature.

### 1. The Bible

As we have seen earlier, the Protestant missionaries went in for the translation of the Bible even before any missionary set foot in Gujarat. Between 1857 and 1861 the translation of the Bible was completely revised, and exacting new standards of scholarship were set. This scholarship was concerned mainly with accuracy and not so much with literary language.

The Catholic edition of the Bible was a much later work done by Fr Lsudas Cueli with the help of scholars and well-known literary figures. This *Sampurna Bible* is published in 1981. A second revised edition appears in 1993. For the first time the Bible in Gujarati becomes a literary news item. All the hidden possibilities and peculiarities of the Gujarati language are utilised to the maximum in this translation. It is hailed by critics as a masterpiece of translation in Gujarati language. It is so well done that it seems to be an original work in Gujarati. The Psalms and the Song of Songs are translated in verse and the poetic style of the original is incarnated in Gujarati.

Fr Joseph Lobo SJ's translation of the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, *Novi Kobulat* is published in 1986. The speciality

of this publication is that it is the first printed book in Gamit, a tribal dialect of South Gujarat.

## 2. Grammars and Dictionaries

### (i) Grammars

When the missionaries began their work in 1813, there were no printed Gujarati grammars or dictionaries. In fact there were no printed books of any kind in Gujarati. The Grammar and Dictionary prepared by Skinner and Fyvie in 1819 do not seem ever to have been printed. In 1847 William Clarkson of the London Missionary Society produced a Grammar of the Gujarati Language, printed by the American Mission Press, Bombay. It has been acknowledged by the mainstream as one of the earliest Gujarati grammars. At this stage, Gujarati type-founding was not fully developed. Moulds for many of the conjunct letters did not exist, and several letters were typeset for the first time in this book.

The most famous grammar written by a missionary was JVS Taylor's (1820-1881) *Gujarati Bhashanu Vyakaran*, published in 1867. This learned work, written in Gujarati and using Sanskrit rather than Western terminology, earned for its author the title of 'Father of Gujarati Grammar'. Taylor's wish was to set the Gujarati language in its rightful place beside all the other great languages of the world. A time when there were many pressures towards the anglicizing of education in India his work struck a major blow for the rights of Gujarati studies. His contribution to the development and flowering of Gujarati as a literary medium is worthy to be set alongside that of his contemporary Alexander Kinloch Forbes (1821-65), officer of the East India Company, friend of Kavi Dalpatram and author of *Ras Mala*. In 1857 he published *Gujarati Bhashanu Laghu Vyakaran*. He also has to his credit *Dhatusingraha* (1870), compilation of etymology of verbs, written in collaboration with Vrajlal K. Shastri. He has also written *Ishwar Stutinan Pado* (1867), *Kavyarpan* (1877) and *Karnae Lagto Praveshbodh*. The first two are books of religious poems and the last an introduction to the Bible.

Taylor's grammatical interests were continued by his son, GP Taylor, first principal of the Stevenson Divinity College, who in 1893 published, in English, *The Student's Gujarati Grammar* which

still remains the most useful and comprehensive grammar for foreigners studying Gujarati.<sup>3</sup> In 1963 LE Blickenstaff published one volume of *Learn Gujarati*: A Practical guide to Gujarati speech and grammar. It is a teacher's guide book to teach non-Gujarati students through the direct method. A second volume was added to it later, giving the sentences for the language Laboratory exercises. The above course is used very successfully even today to teach Gujarati to the non-Gujarati speaking adults.

Here a mention must be made of the work of Fr Francisco Figuera SJ *Rudimentos de Gramatica Gujarati* (1934). This is perhaps the only grammar of Gujarati written in Spanish for the Spanish missionaries working in Gujarat. Now it is superceded by the volumes of *Learn Gujarati* mentioned earlier.

## (ii) Dictionaries

The Missionaries also contributed to the compilation of dictionaries. In 1864 James Glasgow wrote a learned foreword to Shapurji Edalji's Gujarati-English Dictionary, and Narmadashankar's classic *Narmakosh*, 1873, was printed at the Surat Mission Press. At the request of the Director of Public Instruction, Robert Montgomery compiled, and in 1877 published, a large standard English-Gujarati Dictionary, whose usefulness in some respects has not been equalled by subsequent publications.<sup>4</sup> Fr Carlos Suria SJ (1900-1991), a Spanish Missionary will be remembered for suggesting approximately two thousand five hundred colloquial words, used in central Gujarat and not found in the Dictionary. These words were added to the standard Gujarati Dictionary.

## 3. School Text Books

The first mission in Gujarat was opened by the London Missionary Society in Surat in 1816. Gujarat Tract Society, in its 1st Annual Report of 1853 has this to say about the situation of those schools:

"Not withstanding all that has been hitherto done by all parties combined, the ordinary schools of Gujarat... possess not a printed character which the scholars may copy, much less a book whence they can gather knowledge. The reed and chalk, the dust and board form both the subject-matter and the means of instruction."

*James Glasgow* was the first to do something about this. In 1848 he produced the first part of *Vidyabhyasni Pothi*. This has been described as 'the first standard school-book in the Gujarati language'. It had lessons in grammar, arithmetic, history, geography, natural history, scientific definitions and Christian doctrine. It ran through many editions.

*James Wallace* and *William Mc Mordie* too added to the stock of school-books. *TL Wells* (1840-1877) compiled *Pathmala*, a series of textbooks for students learning English. They were published by the Surat Press in the 1870s. They have been widely used and have been very popular.

A series of books (*Jeevan Jal*, six graded volumes for school children published between 1971-74) meant to teach Christian doctrine, and another series, *Jeevan Kala* to teach moral science to the non-christian students were also published by the Gujarat Sahitya Prakash. They are of high quality both in their content and language.

#### 4. Christian Literature

The missionaries of the London Missionary Society paid special attention to the production of evangelistic and apologetic literature. They published pamphlets of about 12 pages each, covering a wide range of Christian doctrine, for example: On the Creation; On the Fall; All Men are Sinners; A Comment on the Ten Commandments; A Catechism; On Regeneration; On Sanctification; On Prayer; On Turning to the Lord... A number of people became Christians, attracted by the reading of these tracts.

*Skinner* and *Fyvie* published their tracts between 1815 and 1820. They were pioneering not only in Gujarati printing, but in Gujarati prose-writing as well. Up to then the Gujarati literature, available only in expensive manuscript form had been limited mainly to verse. Their prose was very clumsy no doubt, but it introduced the possibilities of Gujarati prose as a literary medium. *Narmad* (1833-1886) who is considered the Father of Gujarati Prose comes much later. His *Narnagadya*, collection of miscellaneous prose works were first published in 1865.

The *Bombay Tract Society*, set up in 1827 began publishing in Gujarati from 1831. They were versions of tracts already published

in Marathi. One of the tracts published in Gujarati by the *Bombay Tract Society* was *The Three Worlds*, by Gordon Hall, the pioneer American missionary in Bombay, an exposition of heaven, hell and human life in the light of the Hindu concept of Triloka. Other titles were *The Search after Knowledge or the Evidences of Christianity*, and *The Youth's Book of Natural Theology* (1849), two works which indicate the importance then placed on natural theology and the evidence of reason in support of Christian claims.

A new series of tracts which came from the London Missionary Society in Surat in 1842-43 provided more detailed material -30 or 40 pages each - on the life and work of Christ. In 1844 a book on Christ's fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies indicated the popularity of the 'fulfillment' approach which was later to be extended to the prophecies of non-Christian sects like the Kabir Panth, the Bhagats of Sabarkantha, and the Nakalanka Avatara.

In 1852 the Gujarati Tract and Book Society, now the Gujarat Christian Literature Board was formed. They published a variety of doctrinal, controversial and devotional books. *The Pilgrim's Progress* was translated in 1844 by William Flower. James Glasgow produced a 342 page book entitled *Scripture Extracts on Doctrine and Duty, with Introductions and Explanatory Remarks for Believers and Inquirers* (1851). JVS Taylor translated Barth's *Church History* in 1862. There were also books on Hinduism and Islam, like John Wilson's *Exposure of Hinduism*, first translated into Gujarati in 1834; Dunlop Moore's *Balance of Truth (Sachaina Mijan)*, 1864, on questions at issue between Christians and Muslims; and *Divine Incarnation (Ishvari Avatar)*, 1864, a comparison of Christ and Krishna, translated from Marathi by Chhaganlal Bhagwandas.

In 1878 a theological course was started at Ahmedabad. This led to writing of textbooks for the students. In 1878 JVS Taylor translated the *Westminster Shorter Catechism*, and later the *Westminster Confession*. Vahalji Bechar's *Sources of the Kabir Religion* was published in 1881. In 1889 a devotional *Commentary on St John* by William Clarkson was published. This seems to be the first full-length biblical commentary in Gujarati. RW Sinclair published a commentary on *Mathew* in 1893. In 1889 the first of a series of commentaries by JF Steele, *Introduction to the Gospels and*

Acts appeared. This was followed by commentaries on *Romans* in 1911, *Ephesians* in 1912, *Colossians* and *Philemon* in 1913, and *Philippians* in 1915. Job Bhanabhai writes a commentary on *Haggai* in 1901 and Daniel Dahyabhai translates from Urdu a commentary on *Malachi* in 1905. GP Taylor publishes *Introductions to the New Testament* in 1905 and the *Old Testament* in 1917. Yakub Gopal's *Bible Students' Companion* (1906); Ramsingh Khundas' *Aids for the Bible Student (Shastrano Abhyasi)* (1910), *Geography of the Bible* (1915), and *Bible Text Dictionary (Shastra Pratikdarshak Kosh)* (1927); and Dipsingh Shambhai's *Dictionary of Bible Proper Names* (1912) are some other published works.

Ramji Khimji Panth (1897-1967) wrote both prose and poetry and some of it was published in the secular press. A collection of his poems as well as a translation by him of Cardinal Wiseman's historical novel *Fabiola* were published. Musabhai V Macwan wrote hymns which were published in a book called *Flowers of Paradise* (1976) and Simon Ganesh published *Masiha Gita*, a poetical life of christ.

On the Catholic side it is the German Missionaries who do the pioneering work in printed word. Their published Catholic works are the following:

Fr Aloysius Gyr SJ: *Schuster's Bible Stories, Old Testament*, (1903), *New Testament* (1904), *Prayer-book for Children* (1911).

Fr Constantin Einsiedler SJ: *History of the Church, Katholik Shrisabhanu Itihas* (1903 & 1911).

Fr Josef Umbricht SJ: *Prayer-book, Swargno Rasto* (1911), *Major Catechism* (according to Deharbe) (1904), *Outlines of church's History* (1901), *Bibliographic Profiles of Saints* (five booklets), (1905), *Catholic Hymnal* (1905).

Fr Herman Zurhausen SJ: *Minor Catechism*, drafted on the unified German Catechism.

Later on, Spirag (1934, 36, 42), three volumes of Catholic theological teachings were translated.

A great contribution in the field of the printed word is of Anand Press. It was started as Mission Press in 1926 in a dilapidated building. Along with the Press is Gujarati Catholic Satyaprakash,

later, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash that does publication of christian books. They have been publishing not just religious literature but also literature for social transformation.

These early works are more concerned with delivering a message than the way of delivering the message. The language of these early writers and translators is by and large rather poor. It is much later that special care is taken for the quality of language as well as that of the content.

Fr Thomas Alphonse SJ (b.1921) has a master's in Gujarati and has done a number of translations. *Khrishti Dhammasabha*, *Khristanukaran*, Imitation of Christ (1967), Autobiography of St Margaret Mary Alacoque (1978), Yauvanne Umbre (1980), Isu Kyan Chhe (1983) are some of his important translations.

Fr John K. Dabhi SJ (b. 1923) is a learned translator. He has translated a number of biographies. *Atmaprakash*, translation of Confessions of St Augustine, *Kishori Gan*, translation of The Song of Bernadette (1974), *Stella* (1980, a novel), *Aparichit* (a novel), are some of his important translations. His translation of *Quo Vadis* (1992) has been published by a commercial publishing house.

Both the above translators have done a good job of being true to the original work but in the bargain they have sacrificed making their works sound Gujarati. Their works remain and sound translations.

The translation becomes a literary art with the arrival of Fr Isudas Cueli SJ and RR Parmar on the scene. Fr Isudas' major work is the translation of the Bible but he also has a number of Liturgical books to his credit. He and RR Parmar, a lecturer and head of the department at St Xavier's College have worked together to produce books like *Updeshmala*, a translation of sermon notes (Four volumes published in 1984, 85, 87 and 93), A book of Prayer, *Prabhune Charane* (1982), Liturgical Prayer book, *Param Yagna Samhita* (1969), Autobiography of St Ignatius and His Spiritual Exercises, *Ek Yatrino Jeevan-Panth* (1992) and many others. Their translations read like original Gujarati works since they have paid special attention to using typical Gujarati idiom in their translations. Their translations are more cultural adaptations than mere translations. Their major contribution is that they have

succeeded in making Christian Literature inculturated in Gujarat and its culture.

RR Parmar has also translated Peter Lappin's *The Stories of Don Bosco*, Intalano Kadio. Louis De Wohl's novel *The Golden Thread* has been translated by him and Fr Joseph Mangalam SJ entitled *Pataka Kasumbal Rangni*. *Going My Way* has been adapted into Gujarati with his help by Fr Joaquin Castiella SJ. And *Arohan* is a novel adapted into Gujarati by him and Fr Cueli. Marriage preparation course, *Lagna Ek Sadhana*, Bible for children, *Potanan Balako Jode Ishwarni Vato*, *Taranhar Isu* are some other of his works. RR Parmar has translated and adapted books in Gujarati as well as helped others in their work, mainly from linguistic and literary point. Over the years he has become a master of teaching Gujarati to the non-Gujarati speaking people, and this is his major contribution to Gujarati language.

## 5. Periodicals

In 1856 the first Gujarati Christian monthly, *Gnandipak* began to appear. Besides its specifically Christian context, it carried stories and articles on history, astronomy, science and religion. It ceased publication in 1860 but followed by *Satyodaya* in 1862. It began as a children's paper but later became the monthly magazine of the IP Mission. Later other such periodicals were published by various denominations such as *Harshnad* by Methodists, *Prakashpatra* by the Church of the Brethren, *Jangi Pokar*, later *Mukti Samachar* by Salvation Army, *Harshavartman* by Alliance Mission and *Doot* by the Catholics.

The last mentioned *Doot* (1911) deserves a special mention. It began as a sectarian Christian magazine and has gradually achieved quite a high literary standard. The language of the earlier issues is rather poor but now it has achieved literary standard. Many budding authors have been given literary encouragement by the magazine. Its editor, Fr Varghese Paul SJ has published two volumes of his editorials, *Jeevan Patolaman Dharmani Bhat* (1989) and *Bimb Pratibimb* (1993). His editorials are not just religious instructions but they take up wide range of topics relating to human life and behaviour. Its language is standard Gujarati. The second volume has received good review in a local daily.



## 6. Hymnology

The first Gujarati Christian Hymns were contained in a *Goojarat Hymn Book* published by the Surat Mission in 1834. They were all in English metres, some translations. Clarkson wrote a number of hymns in English metres. They were published with those written by JVS Taylor in 1851 as a book called *Dharmagita*. In 1856 Glasgow published a verse translation, in western metres, the whole Book of Psalms. As yet there is no Gujarati Christian poetry in Indian metres. JVS Taylor is the first Christian Missionary to study the rules of Gujarati prosody and write hymns using this prosody. His hymns were published in 1863 in a hymnal entitled *Kavyarpan*. In later editions of it hymns by Rambhai Kalyan, Thomabhai Pathabhai and Kahanji Madhavji Ratnagrahi were included. Abdur Rahman's *Manohar Vani* was a book of verse exposing popular errors and setting forth the Christian doctrine in winning form. In 1864 Vahalji Bechar published a book of Christian doctrine in verse entitled *Atam Bodh* and in 1876 his translation of the Psalms into Indian metres was published.

There used to be what is called Gayan Sabha, an informal gathering of sing-song. A number of songs sung on these occasions were new. They were usually based on the Bible. Later they were published and became very popular. In 1867 *Padmala* was published and in 1873 Garbavali. *Garbavali* were hymns set to the tune of the popular Gujarati dance called the Garba. There were also long narrative poems about Biblical figures composed which were accompanied by dancing and instrumental music. Besides these, many other hymn books appeared in this early era: Salvation Army Song Book (1887) under the direction of Major De Latour, Large Song Book (1900), *Dharmagita*, a hymn-book for children (1889), *Gitasangraha* (1903) edited by EF Frease; Some Hymns of the Ancient church (1896) by J Sinclair Stevenson contains translations of the ancient Latin hymns. They retain their Gregorian melody. The other hymns retain their Victorian melodies.

Kahanji Madhavji Ratnagrahi (1869-1916) is one of the best-known early Christian poets. His first work, *Prema-pachisi* was published while he was still a student at the Stevenson Divinity College. In 1904 came *Khristakhyan*, the life of Christ in verse and in 1908 *Subobh Garbavali*, a book of songs for weddings. One of

his hymns, 'Heaven and its joys Thou didst leave behind Thee' is very popular even today.

*Kirtan Kumudini* and *Gao re* are collections of popular hymns. Barnabas Dabhi is one of the major poets who has contributed large number of hymns to these volumes. The language does not flow so well. Some of the hymns are translations and do sound like translations.

*Kirtan Gan*, *Kirtan Dhara* and *Kirtan Sagar* deserve a special mention. Good poems from the literary point of view are collected in these three editions of the same work. The hymns are religious in nature but they also satisfy the aesthetic, poetic sense of the reader.

## 7. Fiction, Poetry and Other Contribution to the Mainstream Literature

Esther Khimchand is the first Gujarati Christian woman-poet. She is one of the few recognised as poet of some standard even by the secular poetic world. Her *Sadbodhkavya* (1895) contains poems in praise of Christianity, guide lines for social behaviour, moral poems and poems for auspicious occasions. Her book, *Stri-Shrungar* (1893) is on women's place in the world. At the occasion of marriage women used to sing songs abusing the other party. She has written melodious poems appropriate to the occasion of marriage. She shows quite a mastery of Gujarati prosody. A number of her poems are in the Medieval Gujarati poetic style. She has also written poems on upliftment of women, against child-marriage, advocating widow remarriage and other social and economic topics.

The greatest literary figure to be attracted to Christianity and accept Baptism was Manishankar Ratanji Bhatt (1867-1923), commonly known as Kavi Kant. A great poet who created a new poetic form, *Khanda-Kavya* in Gujarati, was baptised around 1893. His poems, which had a rather pessimistic, negative tone changed to positive tone as a result of his faith in Christ. His famous poem, *chakravaka-Mithun* ended in a pessimistic note: 'No life in sight anywhere!'<sup>5</sup> By changing just one letter he changed the whole tone of the poem saying: 'No unlife in sight anywhere!' He was taken up by the Christian concept of God as Father. He changed the

endings of some of his poems as a result of his new-found faith in Christianity. According to critics, these changes are in keeping with his new found faith, but make the poems poorer from the poetic point of view. One of his best known Christian poems 'Ananta Vatsalya' is based on the story of the prodigal son:

No love but yours is so deep, Lord - Father and God!

No love but yours is so deep Lord!

Lost you seemed; how could I Sleep, Lord? Father and God!

No love but yours is so deep, Lord! <sup>6</sup>

His use of Hindu terminology for Christian concepts is very interesting. In a translation of John Mason's hymn, 'To Jesus Christ be glory given' (Tarak Stotra), he translates I AM as 'aham Brahmasmi'. His version of the 'Our Father' is a good example of showing what attracts him in The Lord's Prayer. In one of his poems, 'Ishwara Stuti (1909) he speaks of Mother and child Mary and Jesus and calls them Samb, sa=with and Amba=mother. Amba is normally used for the consort of Shankara. In the same poem, Sankara for him means the benevolent. His best known lyrical poem, 'Sagar ane Shashi' - The Sea and the Moon is the best of his works written after his conversion. He accepts God as Father. According to his friend and critic, Balvantrai Thakor, its mystical foundation can be found in Swedenborg. The poet acknowledges the peace he has attained after accepting God as Father. Thus, he is one of the earliest in Gujarat to use Hindu terminology to express Christian concepts. He has translated a number of Christian volumes:

1. Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772):

*Confugal Love* (1897)<sup>7</sup>

*Heaven and Hell* (1899)

*New Jerusalem and its heavenly Doctrine* (1916)

2. Gospel according to St John (*Saint Johnnun Bhagvat*) (1923).

His greatest contribution to literature is as a poet. After 1891, there is a clear shift in the direction as well as the tempo of his poetry. The death of his first wife in 1891 is too much of a trauma for him. From long, narrative poems he now limits himself to lyrical, short poems giving vent to personal emotions and lyrics that lend themselves to musical compositions. His highly Sanskritic

Poetic language tends to be more simplified. His earlier creative experimentations come to a stand-still. From being a poet of beauty he tends to be a poet of the Good. Reading Swedenborg gives him a new faith. Now he believes that he will be able to meet his wife in the life after life and this is what is expressed in a number of his poems. This also seems to be the reason behind his accepting Christianity. Due to estrangement from the family and persecution, he gives up Christianity but at heart he remains a Christian. In 1923, during his trip to Kashmir and just a week before his death he writes 'The Final Prayer'. It is prayer to the Lord Saviour to save from the deep waters, echoing Psalm 69. He translates part of Psalm 25 asking the Lord to show him his ways. Poet and critic Sundaram has this to say about Kant, his conversion to Christianity and its impact on his poetry:

His poems expressing Christian religious faith are superior to any other Gujarati speaking poet to date. But where ever he has depicted Christian religious stories or symbols in their original form, they seem alien. Where there is no touch of sectarianism but expression of pure sentiment, and the christian religious belief is well hidden, there Kant has achieve success. *The Prayer of Cardinal Newman, Invitation to the Spouse, The Final Prayer* are such poems.

Since Kant did accept Christianity, his contribution has been accepted as contribution of a Christian. However, since he did give up Christianity, atleast openly, only those works are taken into account which have specific Christian content or influence.

Manilal C Parekh (1885-1967) is another Non-Christian of the so called upper caste who accepted Christianity and whose contribution has been acknowledged by the mainstream. A Jain by birth, he accepted Christianity in 1918. Since he found the organised Church to be westernised, quarrelsome, too interest in money and property and too much permeated by people of so called low caste origins, he was rather hostile to it. He has written a Church History and a Commentary of St John's Gospel in Gujarati. He also wrote in English. He has written biographies of Ram Mohan Roy, Keshava Chandra Sen, Swami Narayana, Sri Vallabhacharya and Mahatma Gandhi. He has also written *The Gospel of Zoroaster*, *The Brahmosamaj*, and *A Hindu's Portrait of Jesus Christ*. Besides these, he has written his autobiography. He believed in a harmony

of religions, which he called the 'Bhagavata Dharma', of which Christianity was only one component part, to be set alongside various other manifestations of the bhakti marga of personal theism. In 1947 he wrote a book entitled *Christian Proselytism in India: a great and Growing Menace*. He had no objection to a man's becoming a disciple of Christ but he felt that baptism should be regarded as a spiritual sacrament between man and God, not as the visible sign of entrance into a new community, involving a break with the old one. He wrote:

To me, to be a true Hindu was to be a true disciple of Christ, and to be a true disciple of Christ meant to be more a Hindu and not less.

He was too early for his age. He was one of the first to recognise the need of Inculturation of the Christian faith.

Dhanjibhai Fakirbhai (1895-1967), a professor of physics became a Christian and devoted his retirement to the writing of Christian books presenting the Gospel to the Hindus in an attractive and intelligible form. His best known book is *Hriday Gita*, The Song of the Heart,<sup>8</sup> a presentation of Christ's teaching in the dialogue form like that of the Bhagvadgita. His other books are *Prema Tattva Darsana*, *Khristopanishad*, and *Adhyatma Darsana*. He remains faithful to the Biblical tradition and tries to explain the Christian faith through Hindu terms and his use of terms has won recognition from many theologians. He coins the word 'Khristadvaita' which represents the believer's unity with Christ by faith. For Logos, Word of St John, he uses the word 'Prajnana'. Quoting from the Brahma Sutra, he shows how prajnana is related to God as the heat of the sun's ray is related to the disc of the sun. Thus he contributes to the Gujarati language as well as theological terminology and makes the Christian doctrine quite Indian.

He also has to his credit several devotional books and collections of Christian lyrics. He wrote a novel called *Atmakunvari*, translated the life of St Francis of Assisi, *Sant Franciscun Jeevan Gan* (1968), and a life of Christ, *Prakatya* (unpublished). His works have been published in English as well as other Indian languages and have attracted considerable attention as a genuine and penetrating interpretation of Christian theology in Indian terminology.

In these early days, we have quite a lot of contribution by Christians, but most of it is rather poor from the point of view of literature. From all the names mentioned above, only a handful like JVS Taylor, Esther Khimchand, Kant and a few others have found favour with the mainstream Gujarati Literature.

The Christian community has to wait almost till the modern times to find literary figures who make a sizable contribution to the mainstream literature and find a wide acclaim. The first among such literary figures is Fr Carlos G Valles SJ (b.1925). He has made a name for himself as an essayist. He began his literary career with a series of monthly articles in a Catholic magazine, *Doot* in 1955-56. They were published in a book called *Hruday-Bhakti* (1974). But his fame as an author began with his weekly articles in the Sunday edition of a local daily, *Gujarat Samachar*, entitled 'Navi Pedhi ne' - to the new generation. He also wrote in a well known literary magazine *Kumar*. He was given the prestigious Kumar-Chandrak in 1966 and Ranjitram Suvarna Chandrak in 1978 for his contribution to Gujarati literature. He has a distinct prose style of short, pithy sentences. He has popularised simple lucid prose. His articles have provided guidance to many a youth. His first book *Sadachar* was published in 1960 and since then he has published more than fifty books in Gujarati. His *Fragments of Autobiography, Atmakathana Tukda* (1979) gives interesting details of his life. *Shabdalo* (1987) gives reflections on the use of words in Gujarati language. His special contribution is the ethical teaching for the young in an attractive and thoroughly Indian form. Behind the ethical standards he inculcates, the structure of Catholic moral theology can be seen quite clearly. His book, *Murli* (1979) is a good example of the blend of Christian thought in Indian religious idiom. In *Parvotsav* (1972) he gives meaning to the traditional Hindu festivals for the modern youth. *Christi-darshan* and *Giri-pravachan* (1972) are his books with specifically Christian content. Almost all his books are published by secular, commercial publishers. He has also been a popular speaker at the Jain festival of Paryushan. Since 1985 he has started publishing in English. He has already about a dozen books in English to his credit. A number of them are translated into other European languages like Spanish and German.

Azad Bipin (1930): *Manavtani Mahek* (1967), *Apna Santo* (1980) are biographies of saintly people published by him. He has to his credit a number of biographies, most of which are translations. Biography of St Theresa, known as *The Little Flower*, *Ek Safed Phool* (1977), *Autobiography of St Theresa of Avila* (1987) are some of his important translations.

Macwan Joseph Ignas (b. 1936) is another such literary figure who has made a name for himself in the mainstream literary world. His first book *Vyathanan Veetak* (1985) gives sketches of exploited Dalit characters. *Vahalnani Valkhan* (1987) and *Preet Pramani Pagle Pagle* (1987) are similar books. *Angaliyat* (1986) a novel of local colours, is centred on caste discrimination. His well documented matter and style have made it into a work of art and it is saved from being a merely propagandist literary piece. He has been able to capture and use the local dialect very powerfully. He has more than a dozen books to his credit. His novel, *Angaliyat* has won the Gujarat Sahitya Academy award as well as the Sahitya Academy Award, Delhi in 1989. He has contributed to the Gujarati language through his distinct style of dialect and to the literature by popularising the tragedies and triumphs of the caste group of most local Christians of Gujarat. He is also a social activist and newspaper columnist.

Yoseph Macwan (b. 1940): His first collection of poems, *Swagat* (1969) has sonnets, poems in Gujarati metre and lyrics. He is attracted by the beauty of nature and the emotion of love in human life. *Surajno Hath* (1983) is also a collection of nature poems, but now he moves towards Gujarati equivalent of blank verse. This collection has received Dr Kavi Jayant Pathak award as well as the second prize of the Government of Gujarat. In this collection the poems are more expressive of city life. *Tofan* (1979) and *Ding-dong Ding-dong* (1982) are collections of poems for children. *Ding-dong Ding-dong* has bagged the first and *Tofan* second prize of the Gujarat Government. *Cross ane Kavita* (1977) has appreciation of selected Gujarati poems on the theme of the Cross. The translation of the Psalms (1980) is his in the Gujarati Bible (1981). *Pamrat*, *Kalrav* and *Pranibagni Ser* (all published in 1990) are other collections of poems by him. *Vahre Varta Vah* is in the press. He was one of the two invited to Delhi from among the Gujarati poets

by the Poetry Society (India). Some of his poems have already been translated and published in English, Hindi and other Indian languages, *he* is one of the leading poets of the mainstream and perhaps. The poet from among the Gujarati Christian poets. He is also a columnist in a local newspaper.

Philip Clark (1940): He has published six collections of poems - *Nagar Vase Chhe* (1978), *Tahuki Rahyun Gagan* (1982), *Ramtan Ramtan Rat Padi* (1983), *Rimzim Rimzim* (1989), *Soorthi Gaje Van and Palpaliyan* (both in 1993). The wide range of subject matter is noteworthy. His poems express a bent of mind towards rural as compared to the urban life-style. A number of his poems are for children. He is also well accepted and appreciated by the mainstream poetic world.

Dr Joseph Parmar, Reader in MS University, Vadodara has published his thesis on the development of modern Gujarati prose, *Arvachin Gujarati Gadyano Vikas*. He keeps on writing in the line of literary criticism.

*Jagrutini Jyot*, a collection of plays is special since the plays are written to make people aware of social issue of discrimination and performed by students of backward community on the occasion of their Parents' Day.

Solomon P Macwan: *Antim Ansu*, (The Last Tear, 1943) *Vahemine Vanke* (1943), *Mevadi Talvar* and *Shahi Satta* (1954) are his published plays.

Christian Albert Kahanji (b. 1915) has published one collection of poems on the theme of God, religion, nature, human life, various seasons and flowers, entitled *Sharannan Pushpo* (1984).

Michael Christian has published a novel *Madi Vachhoyun Bal* (1979). *Antani Niwas* was published by him along with Jayanti Patel.

Christian Frederick: *Mara Namna Aksharo* (1985) is a collection of his poems.

Rajesh Dabhi gives us a novel, *Senthi Sajavi Preetna Sindurthi* in 1990.



## Conclusion

This is not an exhaustive list. There are many others who have contributed to Gujarati literature but it is not possible to list all of them in this limited paper. The contribution of Christians, must be seen in the perspective of their ratio of population. The Christian population of Gujarat is less than 0.5% of the total population. As far as the quantity is concerned, the contribution of Christians to both Gujarati language and literature is quite large. The availability of funds for publication has certainly contributed to the vast amount of literature published. But quite a lot of it is sectarian, published by Christians, for Christians. Often the language used is almost a separate "Christian" dialect. It's religious jargon is not easily understood by the vast majority. This "ghetto" mentality has not helped to develop Christian literature that can stand in competition with the other mainstream literature.

However, this negligible minority community has certainly made quite a contribution, considering its small number. Right from the start, there have been writers like JVS Taylor in the field of Grammar. Gujarati prose has been developed by the Christian authors much before Narmad who is considered the Father of Gujarati literary prose. In recent times, authors like Fr Carlos Valles SJ and Joseph Macwan and poets like Yoseph Macwan have made quite an impact on the mainstream literature. If more and more Christians were to get out of their "minority complex" and take up to writing in the mainstream, of their tragedies and triumphs it would certainly make a great impact on the mainstream literature. The flow in that direction has already begun. Let us hope that one day it becomes a torrent.

## NOTES

1. A copy of the Serampore NT is preserved in the archives section of the Gujarat United School of Theology Library, Ahmedabad.
2. A report of 1830 lists no less than 31 tracts of between 8 and 16 pages each. (OCS, May 1830).
3. The fourth revised edition was published in 1975.
4. It gives the gender of all Gujarati nouns, essential information for the non-Gujarati, yet not provided in some of the later dictionaries.
5. 'Kyahin ja chetan ek dise nahin' is changed to 'Kyahin achetan ek dise nahin'

6. Translated by RHS Boyd, *Church History of Gujarat*, p. 132.
7. The year in brackets indicate the year of translation.
8. The English edition is entitled *Shri Khrista Gita*. (ISPACK, Delhi, 1969).

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## CHRISTIANS AND HINDI

Sarada Ramani

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Hindi is that language which is spoken in the valley of the Ganges and its tributaries from the watershed of the Jumna; the largest and most important of them as far as Rajmahal, the point where the Ganges takes a sudden turn to the South, and breaks into the plains of Bengal. This area is the centre and principal portion of Aryan India. It is therefore the legitimate heir of Sanskrit and fills the place in the modern Indian System which Sanskrit filled in the old. Under the general head of Hindi are included many dialects. Though some of them diverge considerably, one common universal form of speech is recognised and that is the modern Hindi or the Khariboli Hindi. Thus it owes much to Sanskrit for its earlier development. But the multifarious dimensions, in the progress of Hindi, owe much to western literature because the new trends in many areas, especially prose and criticism are very much based on the modern techniques and style of the western literature. Christian writers have helped in the growth of Hindi literature through their valuable works on literature and language. Even the histories of Hindi literature and Linguistics have their base on the books 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages' and 'Linguistic Survey of India' by John Beames and G.A. Grierson respectively.

The religious principles of India are very much based on Vedic doctrines of Sanskrit and so, having gained a deep knowledge of Vedas, Upanisads, etc., the Christian writers have

analysed the religious principles and philosophy of Hindi poets and writers. So their writing is adorable and their skill is marvelous.

### Poetry

So far as the field of poetry is concerned, the scholars have very much been attracted by the two religious leaders of the Hindi medieval period Tulsi Das and Surdas, even though a few have written on Kabir, Vidyapati and Mirabai. Among the modern poets Mahadevi Varma's poems have been the topic for the Ph.D dissertation in one of the American Universities.

### Works on Tulsi

Many scholars have analysed *Tulsi* from various angles and have brought out excellent books, articles etc., exhibiting their depth of knowledge in Hindi religion, philosophy and culture. Some of them have translated *Tulsi Ramayan* into English while a few others have given the meaning and summary of the same. They have also dwelt briefly upon the life and works of Tulsi Das and elaborated three distinct types in the context of Hindu tradition - Orthodox theism, Vedic orthodoxy and Antinomian theism which emphasises love of God to the negligence of traditional duties. Edmond J. Babineau in his book *Love of God and Social Duty in Ramcaritmanas*, discusses at length the social duty and love of God, giving way to the will of God as the Ultimate in resolving the tension in both. It is an interesting study of Tulsi's views on the interaction of love of God and social duty as expressed in *Ramcaritmanas*. The nature and characteristics of the ideal devotee are also exemplified; 'Tulsi Das' devotion and love towards 'Ram' have been analysed by JB Macfie and K Bulkay in their books *The Ramayan of Tulsi Das* and *Ramkatha* respectively. *The theology of Tulsi Das* written by J N Carpenter focuses on the Hindu tradition prevailed during Tulsi's days.

AG Atkins has translated the *Ramayan* of Tulsi Das with original text. WDP Hill was the first author who translated the whole *Ramayana* of Tulsi into English. FR Allchin and FS Grouse have also translated Tulsi's *Ramayan* into English whereas Vaudeville has translated the *Ayodhya Kanda* of *Ramcaritmanas* into French. The important articles on Tulsi are Allchin's *The place of Tulsi Das in North Indian devotional Tradition*, Grierson's *Notes on*

*Tulsi Das* and Vaudeville's *Etude Sur les sources et la compositions du Ramayana de Tulsi Das*. Babineau has taken the topic. *The Religious views of Tulsi Das* for his M.A. dissertation.

### Works on Krishna

Rama and Krishna were the central theme of many poets of the Bhakti movement during the medieval period. These who worshipped Rama preferred the master-slave relationship between the Lord and the devotee. The worshipers of Krishna on the other hand followed mostly the *Sakhya Bhakti* (friendly approach) of the *Navda Bhakti* (Nine ways of worship). They felt that the friendly approach alone can make them feel close to their Lord. Surdas was the king of the poets of this cult and so the books written on Krishna cult centre round Sur's Krishna and Radha. The books on Surdas move from legends that surround the poet's life to a critical examination of the early manuscripts of the 'Sur Sagar', Surdas devotion to Lord Krishna and the attitude of the poet that the poems reveal to women in particular.

Hawley John Stratton in his book *Sur Das - Poet Singer and Saint* discusses the relationship between Krishna and Radha and concludes that Radha is regarded as of equal importance to Krishna elsewhere on the basis of the attitude of the poet in his poems on Radha and Krishna. The same author in his book *Krishna, the Butter Thief* has attempted to analyse the relationship between Krishna's play and religion in the context of Hinduism. Bary Richard in his book *The Bakti Sect of Vallabhacarya* has done a critical examination of devotional and theological phenomena of Radha Vallab Sampraday. M. Singer in his book *A Phenomenological, Theological and Philosophical study in Krishna myths, Rites and Attitudes* has surveyed the role of play among the gods and conclude that play seems to be an intrinsic part of the Divine in Hinduism. Justin E. Abbott with the assistance of Pandit NR Godbole has written a book *Stories of Indian Saints* in which he has recorded the miraculous and fascinating legends of several saints, how they spread Bhakti cult, how they struggled to uproot the malpractices which prevailed in the name of religions in those days.

Mc Gregor has translated the *Brahmargit* of Nandadas in the name *The Round Dance of Krishna and Uddhav's Message*. Sazanova

and Roland Bearam have translated the songs of Surdas into German in two volumes in the name *Die Volkskultur Von Braj* and *das-poetische Schaffen des Dichters Surdas*.

Many articles on Surdas, Vallabha Sampradaya have come out in different journals, among which Kenneth E Bryant's *The Bhamargit of Surdas*, Burghart Richard's *The Founder of Ramanandhi Sect*, Miller Barbaras *Radha - Consort of Krishna's vernal passion*, C Mackenzie Brown's *God as mother, Feminine Theology in India* and Hawley John Stratton's *A play with Krishna, Pilgrimage Dramas from Brindavan* are widely referred by authors and critics. Redington has taken *The meaning of Krishna's Dance of Love according to Vallabhacharya* as the topic for his Ph.D dissertation.

### Works on Kabir and Others

Kabir belonged to the Nirgun Sect of the Bhakti Movement. He believed in the worship of formless Brahman. According to him, everyone can see Brahman in his own self if he follows the path of *dadhana* shown by his teacher. In fact he says the teacher is a grade better than Brahman because it is he who shows the way to realise the Brahman or the state of Bliss inside one's own self. His Philosophy is based on gnana whereas Sufi poets' philosophy is based on love. This is the basic difference in the mysticism of Nirgun poets and the poets of Sufism. Mira bai and Vidyapati were the followers of Krishna Bhakti and have sung many songs in praise of Krishna.

Schömer Karina and WH Mcleod have written a book *The Saints: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, which deals with devotional tradition of various poets including Kabir. West Cott in his work *Kabir and Kabir pant* has dwelt briefly upon the life and work of Kabir Das and elaborated his distinct philosophy and attitudes towards religion and rites. Zachner's book *Hindu and Muslims Mysticism* is an interesting study of the views of the Hindu and Muslim poets with regard to the realisation of Brahman in one's own self.

Hess Linda has translated Kabir's poems into English in the name *The Bijak of Kabir*. She has taken guidance from Shukdev Singh: A.J. Alston has translated and summarised the poems of

Mirabai in his work *The Devotional poems of Mirabai*. Vaudeville has translated Kabir's poems in two volumes.

The important articles on Kabir and others are Vaudeville's 'Kabir and Interior religion', C.S.J. White's 'Sufism in Medieval Hindi literature' etc.

### Fiction

Mc Gregor has written an elaborate essay on the rise of standard Hindi and Hindi novels and stories in his detailed essay 'The rise of Standard Hindi and Early Hindi Fiction' which has been published in T.W. Clark's book *The Novel in India*. The essay of Mc.Gregor examines the beginnings of the prose fiction and the stages by which it reached that time (which is different in different languages) at which the great writers of novels and short stories emerged. He points out how an increasing desire on part of Hindus for a greater measure of recognition and public use of Hindi and Devanagari script arose and how this feeling laid a foundation for the ensuing gradual expansion of the sphere of use of Hindi.

### History of Language and Literature

Many writers have contributed their share in this field, learning the Hindi language and its dialects by staying in the areas where they are spoken and by collecting the materials from all available sources including folk songs and stories: Barley T. Grahams's *Studies in North Indian Languages* is an assorted collection of articles on many aspects of NIA particularly Hindi and Urdu.

Gaeffke Peter in his book *Hindi Literature in the Twentieth Century* gives a brief account which sets literary trends in their social context with full bibliographical coverage. The most praise worthy work in this respect is Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* in 11 volumes. He has in his official capacity had chance to go to various places of Hindi belt which was an added advantage to bring out this voluminous work which has become the basis for the future writers of the history of Hindi literature. Besides collecting materials from various sources, he himself studied various Indian languages to have the first hand information about the languages of India. It is an enormous body of data but still of great interest. Volumes VIII and IX cover the Hindi and Urdu area. Mc Gregor has

done a master study on the development of Hindi from its beginning Mc Gregor's *Hindi Literature from its beginnings to the nineteenth century* is a masterly coverage of a wide range of literature with useful chapter introductions giving a clear picture of the main characteristics of the period and genres covered. His another work *A New Voice for New Times-the Development of Modern Hindi Literature*; is a succinct and perspective summary of the emergence of new trends in Hindi literature. *Shackle's(ed) South Asian Language - A Hand book* is a collection of short profile of the history and characteristics of the major NIA languages including Hindi, Urdu and their neighbours.

### Grammar and Linguistics

John Beam's was the first grammarian to have attempted to give an elaborate detail on the structural variations among different languages, and dialects of Indian. It was the base for the linguistic approach of the Hindi language by the later grammarians and linguists. He learnt himself all the languages before he wrote about the characteristics of each of them. Kellogg's *A Grammar of the Hindi Language* is the only grammar to attempt a synopsis of all the 'dialects' including Braj Bhasa, Avadhi and Nepali with a wealth of tabulated comparative material.

Mc Gregor has not left the grammar side of the Hindi, untouched. His book *Outline of Hindi Grammar* is the fullest concise grammar of modern Hindi with exercises and appendices on sandhi and word formation. *Speakers of Indian languages* by Shackle C in the book *Learner English: a Teacher Guide to Interference and Other Problems* is the phonological and grammatical analysis of Indian English' reflects and differences between English, Hindi and Urdu. Shackle C and Snell R together have written a book *Hindi and Urdu since 1800 - A Common Reader* which gives an overall picture of both the languages to underline the fascination and to attempt to remove some of the confusions with regard to various aspects of both the languages. Its passages concern some aspects of the language use and is prefaced by a short introduction summarizing its content, setting it in its historical and stylistic context.



## Dictionaries and Encyclopaedia

T. Platte John has written a dictionary by name *A Dictionary of Urdu, classical Hindi and English*. It is a standard reference work. It is not always reliable with respect to its etymologies but unsurpassed for its composite coverage of both Urdu and Hindi and was the model and the source for many generations of lexicographers.

Robinson has edited the famous work *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives*. It provides the contextualization necessary for a proper understanding of the context in which Hindi and Urdu have evolved. Sections 1-3 of chapter IX discuss the languages and literatures of the culture area now necessarily referred to by the septenary designations of the title.

Father C. Bulcke brought out a glossary by the name *A Technical English-Hindi Glossary* in 1955. When it was out of print he started preparing a Complete English-Hindi Dictionary and published the same in 1965. Its main purpose is to meet more fully the needs of the evergrowing number of people for whom his previous glossary was compiled. The needs of the Indian students wishing to improve their knowledge of English have also been kept in mind and so pronunciation of English words is given in Nagari script.

## Conclusion

This article is only a brief account of what the Christian writers and critics have contributed to the development of the Hindi language. A precise and masterly coverage of the wide range of their works was not possible for want of books and time. It is not my purpose in this article to show the contribution of Christian writers to Hindi at its full maturity, but only to point out the keen interest they have evinced in critically analyzing the works of the Hindi poets and writers. Mistakes if any are my own and so I have an open mind to receive the compliments and comments from the readers.

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# CHRISTIANS AND KANNADA

Edward Noronha

The study of the Kannada language entered the modern scientific era in the first half of the nineteenth century, and Kannada literature experienced a revitalising in the late second half of the same century, and in the first decades of the twentieth century. The former was directly the result of the work done by Christians almost all of them missionaries -, and the latter, though not the direct result of Christian efforts, was made possible because of the ground prepared by the Christian missionaries. Christian missionaries prepared this ground mainly by the scientific temper and systematic methods they brought to bear upon the study of the language which is clearly exemplified in their contribution to Kannada *Sastra Sahitya* (prescriptive literature) such as dictionaries, grammars, and textual criticism.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient Kannada literature saw its first two *Sastra* works in around the tenth century, also generally referred to as the golden age of Kannada literature: These were *Kavirajamarga* (850 A.D.) and *Candombudhi* (990 A.D.). After that, but for four major *Sastra* works, viz., *Bhashabhusana*, *Sabdasmṛti* (1042 A.D.), *Sabdamanidarpana* (1260 A.D.) and *Sabdanusasana* (1604 A.D.), and one does not see any new approach to the questions involved, nor were a sizeable number of such works composed until the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the nineteenth century dictionaries and grammars, edited versions of older manuscripts and histories of literature take on special significance. And this was entirely the work of Christian missionaries who composed these works in their bid to master the

Kannada language for use in daily life and in worship and preaching.

### Grammar

The grammars composed by missionaries display the following characteristics: an objective view of the language process which was present in English, formation of new technical terms, identifying the different particles and markers of the language and explaining their use, separating words using gender criteria, etc. William Carey's *A Grammar of the Kurnata Language* (1817), though an attempt to present Kannada in the framework English grammar, is replete with inaccuracies and, hence, not useful. Thomas Hodson's *An Elementary Grammar of the Kannada or Canarese Language* (1859) is a simple, easily comprehensible presentation. Friedrich Ziegler's *A Practical Key to the Canarese Language* (1882), and B. Greater's *Tables of Canarese Grammar* (1884) are not comprehensive works, the latter being a set of tables intended to aid the reader in remembering principles of Kannada grammar. All these grammars were composed with a view to learning the language.

### Dictionary

The first dictionaries compiled by missionaries contain several innovations: alphabetic arrangement of words, documenting of all words irrespective of whether they are easy or difficult ones, recording the meanings in English, etc. All these furthered Kannada lexicology as evidenced by the success of William Reeve's *A Dictionary of Carnataca and English* (1832). Daniel Sanderson, in his revision of Reeve's dictionary, introduced a method of condensing dictionaries. Apart from Kittel's monumental work (1894), these and similar lexicons like the English-Kannada dictionaries of Reeve (1824), Ziegler (1876), Garrett (1851), and the Kannada-Latin (1855) and Latin-Kannada (1861), dictionaries of Charbonneaux present the then present state of Kannada words and their meanings. Nonetheless these differ from old Kannada dictionaries in that they were essential prerequisites for learning the language whereas the latter were intended to provide necessary learning to help the student to study poetry (*Kavya*) and to write it. Therefore, dictionaries compiled by the missionaries, in keeping with their aim, classified words

according to the eight parts of speech, gave prominence to spoken language over traditional literary usage and avoided to technical explanations regarding samasa and sandhi words. Of these, the first two practices have remained an inseparable part of Kannada lexicons and grammars until today.

The *Kannada-English Dictionary* (1894) of Ferdinand Kittel seeks to throw light on the Dravidian element in Kannada and on the manner in which Kannada has co-existed with Sanskrit. Every entry contains Dravidian cognates, native and non native words are distinctly mentioned, and usages from ancient works cited in chronological order. This shows Kittel's concern for the proto-form of the language. His introduction containing an account of Kannada loan words in Sanskrit throws light on the cultural contact and exchange between these two language groups. Kittel's lexicon has been universally acknowledged as a monumental achievement not only in Kannada, but in all Indian languages.

### Textual Criticism

In the field of prosody, textual criticism and history of literature, Christian missionaries did not publish full-fledged studies. In the *Sabdamanidarpana* (1872) and *Nagavarmana Kannada Caridassu* (1875) edited by him, Kittel put to use principles of systematic arrangement of manuscripts, determination of their families and choice of appropriate variant readings. The presently employed symbols for *guru* and *laghu* ( ,U) introduced by George Wurth in his *Prakkaavya malike* (1868) and establishing that the *rama* (U -) *gana* does not occur naturally in Kannada by Kittel in his *Nagavarmana Kannada Candassu* (1875) are specifically missionary contributions to the field. The entirely new trends of composing history of literature on the basis of undisputed facts and of introducing meaningful divisions in the history of literature can be found in their germinal state in the introductions of these authors to the two aforementioned books.

Thus the greater part of *Sastra* works of the nineteenth century was composed by Christian missionaries. They introduced systematic innovations, a scientific approach and, on the whole, strove to achieve perfection and excellence in all that they did. What subsequently made for the tremendous growth and development of the Kannada language in the twentieth century, viz., serious,

systematic and faithful inquiries into grammar, prosody, lexicology and linguistics was thus began by and based on the ground work done by Christian missionaries.

### **Creative Literature**

The contribution of Christians to Kannada creative (*Kavya* or non-*Sastra*) literature can be examined under two heads: religious literature mainly composed by missionaries, and secular literature composed by missionaries and laymen.

Before Independence, Kannada literature was largely a religious literature of the Jaina, Brahmana and Veerashaiva varieties. To this corpus was added Christian religious literature. Contrary to what is generally known or believed, it was not the Basel missionaries who began this in the nineteenth century, but Catholic missionaries who arrived in Karnataka at least two centuries before the Basel group. Beginning with the first prose writings attributed to the Jesuit Leonardo Cinnami (c.1650 A.D.) more than 130 books are known to have been composed by Catholic missionaries.<sup>2</sup> These included catechisms, compendia of articles of faith, confessionaries, lives of saints, liturgical books like preparation for communion, manner of administering last sacraments, etc. In terms of creative literature, Catholics have had little to offer to Kannada hemmed in as they were with a definite but restricted purpose of language use, viz., confirming the neophytes in their newly acquired faith, and with hindrances of ecclesiastical policy and teaching with regard to local faiths, myths, etc. Though the first missionary to set foot in a Kannada area did so as far back as 1649, the fact that the Bible was not translated and a complete translation of even the four gospels from the Catholic side appeared as late as the twentieth century is to be explained by such and similar reasons.

### **Translation**

However, some significant aspects of Catholic missionaries' writings in Kannada must be noted. A complete exposition of Catholic beliefs and practices, using words equivalent to terms from scholastic philosophy presented for the first time in the Kannada language is the work of Catholic priests. This is a significant addition to the already existing expositions of Jaina,

Veerashaiva, Haridasa beliefs in Kannada. A whole set of technical terms required to present the Catholic faith was worked out, including abstruse terms for such concepts as "subsistent relations" *meeregalu*, *pratiyoga*, etc. The Catholic writings of the pre-printing era (prior to 1850) contained many translations from the Telugu, Tamil and Latin (*Jnanopadesa* (Tamil), *Satyavedaparikse* (Telugu), Bulls of Benedict XIV (Latin), etc.

### Prose

However, the most significant of these is the fact that the first clear examples of modern Kannada prose (*hosagannada gadya*) is to be found in Catholic writings, and these push the antiquity of this prose back to the middle of the seventeenth century. The writings in question are two manuscripts, named MS - 40 and MS- 337 by Havanur<sup>3</sup> which contain catechisms, translations of papal bulls, lives of saints, etc. and whose authors are surmised to be Cinnami, another Jesuit who calls himself Devaputra and a catechist named probably Dhairyam. Catholic missionaries needed to Communicate with their faithful in direct, day to day Kannada, so wrote in that style which is the characteristic of modern prose as opposed to the flowery, pedantic *gadya* in vogue before that time. Such prose was in use until the end of the nineteenth century, and it was only then the characteristics of modern prose came to be embodied in writing which was considered fit for literary use. Against this background the introduction of plain, direct discours in the form of modern prose is an important and historical contribution to the language by Christians.

### Secularism

The contribution of Protestant missionaries to Kannada prescriptive literature, *Sastra Sahitya*, has been already noted. Their contribution to secular literature is also noteworthy. The first and most important of these is the translation of the Bible. The first ever printed book in Kannada was the New Testament translated by John Hands (Madras 1820) The entire Bible was printed and published for the first time in 1831. Besides, Mogling edited *Jaimini Bharata*, *Torave Ramayana*, *Kumaravyasa Bharata*, and translated other secular works into German. However, besides providing Kannada with a model of scientific textual criticism and editing, Kannada secular writings by Protestants have not been very

numerous nor of outstanding literary value. One must, however, note two exceptions: The missionaries composed a large number of hymns, many of them being translations of German, English or Latin origin. These hymns were to a great extent responsible for the resurgence of new metrical forms in modern Kannada. Secondly, among Indian Christians, the Rev. Uttangi Danielappa Chennappa, best known for his memorable critical edition of the vacanas of Sarvajna, is a revered figure for all students and readers of Kannada literature. Grandson of a convert from Lingayatism, Chennappa, though a person in the Basel mission, spent his life in deep dedication to Kannada literature. His was a constant effort to understand the Lingayat faith and the Hindu point of view, as a result of which he published such books as *Siddharama Sahitya Sangraha* (1955), *Adayyana Vacanagalu* (1957), etc. Uttangi Chennappa received the highest honour the Kannada people bestow on a writer when he was invited to preside over the Gulbarga Sahitya Sammelana in 1949.

Christian laymen writing in Kannada are few and far between, and their contribution needs to be established before being assessed. Na. D'Souta's novels and stories, while being widely read, have yet to demonstrate their undisputed and universal literary worth, or their distinctive Christian tenor. B.S. Talwadi's numerous writings which cover extensive areas in Christian folklore and history of Christianity are being well received by the Kannada readers. These and other Christian laymen and priests like William Madtha, Y.S. Lewis, the late Christopher Shantappa, was Dayananda Prabhu, the present writer are engaged in constant dialogue and reflection to give a professional and effective edge to Christian writings in Kannada.

The most significant contribution to Kannada language and literature was made at a time when Kannada literature was still traditional and inaccessible to the common man, and study of the language ensconced in a multitude of *Sutras* and *Sastras*, far removed from what was familiar in everyday life. Those who came on the scene then, the missionaries, were men with a totally new and different approach to language and literature, and they radically changed the direction of language study and use. Once that was achieved, Christian writers in Kannada can make a mark



in the language and its literature only if there is thorough professionalism, commitment to Christ and whole hearted devotion to the language, culture and people of Karnataka. Only then can we speak of a continued contribution of Christians to the language and its literature in the present time and in the time to come.

### NOTES

1. For a complete discussion, Cf B.V Mahidasa *Kannada Sastra Sahityakke Kraista Misanarigala Koduge* (Mysore: 1992), unpublished doctoral dissertation prepared under the supervision of the present writer.
2. For a more complete exposition, Cf Edward Noronha, *Kannada Dharmika Sahityakke Kraista Misanarigala Koduge* (Mysore: 1983), unpublished doctoral dissertation prepared under the supervision of Prof. Dr H.M. Nayak
3. Srinivasa Havanur "Kannadadalli Kraista Sahitya - 2 Mudranapurva Yuga" in *Kannadadalli Kraista Sahitya, Hanigate, Kampyutar, ityadi* (Mysore: Ananya Prakashana, 1982), pp. 24-38.

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## CHRISTIANS AND MALAYALAM

Scaria Zacharia

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### Historical Background

Kerala is noted in the cultural map of India for the presence of a Christian community, the origin of which goes to the preaching of St Thomas, one of the apostles of Jesus Christ. Great national leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, have taken pride in the fact that Christian community in India is as old as Christianity. These early Christians who were labelled as Syrian Christians by the western colonialists, especially the British, had an Arabic word as their nomenclature in the precolonial period - Nazrani. This word which had puzzled almost every historian, as we understand today, is directly borrowed from the Arabic language and it means 'Christians'. This discovery ('the more original a discovery the more obvious it seems afterwards': Arther Koestler, *The Act of Creation*) once again reminds us of the connection of early Kerala Christians to the Middle East. The ecclesiastical and liturgical relation of the Nazranis with the Persian church may be described as cultural colonisation. Some scholars have labelled it as Syriacisation and others would call it Chaldeanisation. Those who propose these designations presuppose an earlier stage of Christianity in Kerala, perhaps before the 4th century AD, having an indigenous ecclesiastical organisation and typical Indian liturgy or other Socio-cultural institutions. This introduction may help the readers identify at least four stages in the history of Christianity in Kerala. They are:

1. Indigenous and autonomous Christian community (4/7th century AD)
2. Syriacisation/Chaldeanisation (4/7 - 16th centuries)
3. Western colonial period - Westernisation (16 - 20th century)
4. Postcolonial period (1947-)

This tentative division may help us understand and evaluate the contributions of Christians to the Malayalam language and literature.

We do not have any documentary evidence regarding the early Christian community of Kerala in the first few centuries of christian era. To search for the literary contributions of Kerala Christians during this period, probably one has to look into Sangam literature. Sangam literary works, especially *akam* and *puram* poems, do not express religious sentiments as they concentrate primarily on Dharma, Artha and Kaama.

The period of Chaldeanisation or Syriacisation is marked in the history of the Malayalam language by Tarisappally copper plate grants, of AD 848-849, the earliest remnants of the Malayalam language. These copper plate grants of king Ayyan of Venadu offer many privileges to the Christian community of Quilon. Many of the Christians in Quilon were migrants from Persia. Among them two brothers were known as Kandisannal (< Syriac = Saints) - Mar Sapor and Mar Prot. The leader of the community is mentioned as Sapiriso. There are two more copper plate grants of this period of Syriacisation but their contents and dates are still being debated. They are known as Thomas of Cana copper plates and Vira Raghava copper plates. In general these copper plates are referred to as Syrian Christian copper plates. Some of these plates are still preserved in Kottayam and Thiruvalla.

Even during this period of Syriacisation Nazranis never let in Syriac words into their socio cultural life. All the borrowed Syriac words were and are restricted to their religious domain of life. This is a very strange linguistic phenomenon, as Syriac continued as the liturgical language of Nazranis till the second half of the twentieth century. Probably Nazranis were very conscious that they should not culturally deviate from the main stream society. This attitude of Nazranis provoked western missionaries during the period of

western colonialization and they insisted on westernisation as an integral part of Christianisation.

Today we may imagine Christianisation, westernisation and modernisation as three distinct circles of influence. Today in Kerala one can make use of modern amenities like printing and schooling without getting into the circles of westernisation or Christianisation. But during the period of vigorous western Christian missionary activities in Kerala, approximately from the advent of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century till political independence in 1947, all the tools of modernisation were looked upon as part of westernisation, and occasionally as part of Christianisation. So we may briefly state that modernisation, westernisation and Christianisation may be imagined as three intersecting circles in the life of Kerala during the four centuries, prior to Independence. Though these three influences were not identical, they had many things common so that they were not and are not clearly demarcated on the cultural map of Kerala.

### Source Materials

Now we propose to give below a bird's eye view of the Christian contribution in the development of the Malayalam language during the period of western colonisation - Portuguese, Dutch and British periods.

Though there are references to the contributions of Christian missionaries in all major works on the history of the Malayalam language and literature, the first single book that has been fully devoted to this subject is *Keeralattile Kristiyya Saahityam* '*Christian Literature in Kerala*' by Dr P J Thomas. This book, published in 1936, though written by an economist, comprised the results of original research. The author, in person and through correspondence, had gathered information from various archives and libraries in various parts of the world. The facts were presented and analysed with a scientific perspective. The enlarged second edition of this work was published in 1961 with the title *Malayaala Saahityavum Kristyaanikalum* '*Malayalam literature and Christians.*'

In 1989, the third edition of the work was published with an appendix of 229 pages by this investigator. Now this work provides

all available information about the literary activities and literary works of Christians in Kerala before the dawn of the twentieth century. The results of researches held in different academic institutions by several persons are made use of in the latest edition in the form of footnotes and complementary references in the appendix.

*A study of Missionary Malayalam Prose with Special reference to Varttamaanapustakam*, an unpublished thesis, University of Kerala 1977, also deserves special mention. The author, *Samuel Chandanapally*, has approached the problem from a literary point of view. He has published a reader of missionary Malayalam prose entitled *Misyanari Malayaala Gadyamaatrakakal* (1975) 'specimens of missionary Malayalam prose'. The Ph.D. dissertations of *Yesudas* (1980) *Irumpayam* (1984) *Eapen* (1985) *Manavulan* (1990) and *Sam* (1988) which are available in print also provide a lot of valuable information about the cultural pursuits of Christian missionaries in Kerala. *Kunhappa* (1973) and *Raghavan* (1985) have pointed out the importance of missionary Malayalam prose in the history of Malayalam Journalism. Gundert studies published recently in Malayalam (Zacharia 1991-92, 1993-94), English (Frenz and Zacharia 1993), and German (Frenz 1992, 1993) provide contemporary assessment of Christian contribution to Malayalam. The present author's Ph.D. dissertation (unpublished) in linguistics on *Early Missionary Malayalam Prose* deals with Christian contribution to Malayalam.

### Printing Press

Christian missionaries were responsible for the introduction of modern printing in Kerala. In order to facilitate the mechanisation and modernisation of printing they became agents of script reform also. The story of printing in Kerala can be traced in detail through *Kesavan* (1985, 1988), *Zacharia* (1989) and *Kizhakkemuri* (1977).

The first printing press in India was established at St Paul's College, Goa, in 1556. *Joao de Bustamante*, a Spaniard was the masterbrain behind the printing work done at that time. *Doctrina Christa*, a catechism by *Francis Xavier*, was the first book in any Indian script to be printed. As *Kesavan* (1985:13) has pointed out 'if the locations of the earlier printing presses in India were plotted on

the map, it will be found that they all hug the coastline of the peninsula, Goa, Cochin, Punnaikkayal (near Kanyakumary), Quilon, Vaipicotta, Ambazhakadu, were the earliest centres of printing in India.

All these presses were established as part of academic programme imparting higher Christian knowledge. So it is evident that missionaries treated printing as an indispensable medium for dispensation of Christian knowledge and the presses were established as an integral part of centres of Christian training and teaching.

*Doctrina Christam, en lingua Malaaur Tamil*, a sixteen-page book printed at Quilon in 1578 is preserved in the Harvard University Library. This book is the Tamil translation of a catechism by Francis Xavier and it has the Tamil name '*Tampiraan Vanakkam*'. Two priests, Henrique Henriques and Manoel Pedro were the brains behind the production of this book. The latter was Indian though his name sounds alien.

Another *Doctrina Christiana*, printed at Cochin in Tamil is available in Bodleian Library, Oxford. This catechism printed in 1579 has 116 printed pages. The printing presses at Vaipicotta and Ambazhakkadu also were very active in printing Tamil books.

The first Malayalam book to appear in print was a catechism by Clement Peanius, a carmelite missionary. *Samksepa vedaartham* was printed at the Polyglot press, Rome in 1772.

Clement Peanius has a book on writing systems in Kerala and it bears the title *Alphabetum Grandonica Malabaricum siva Samscrudonicum*. These two books were printed in Rome making use of 1128 square types prepared for this purpose.

Malayalam printing in Kerala was started at Kottayam by Benjamin Bailey, a CMS missionary. The first major Malayalam work printed at Kottayam was the translation of the *New Testament*. In the beautiful printing of the *New Testament* Bailey made use of only 500 types. This was a major breakthrough in the history of Malayalam script. He reduced the number of types and changed their shape from square to round. It may be noted that the present shape of Malayalam characters in print is the brainchild of Bailey.

The *Basel Mission in Malabar* started Malayalam printing at Mangalore and Tellicherry before 1850. The Basel Mission press at Mangalore won national fame during the British Raj as the best printing press in South India and retained it till the press was closed down under the Enemy Trading Order 1916.

### Spelling

Missionaries and their modern tools like the printing press and journals have played a major role in the *standardisation of Malayalam spelling*. Foreign missionaries were aware of the inconsistencies in the writing system. *Hermann Gundert* and other Basel Mission workers popularised the use of a *special symbol for enunciative /u/*.

### Punctuation

The use of *punctuation marks* was not known in Kerala traditions. According to evidence available today *Roosin Re Niyamaavali* 'Rozian Statutes' (1606) is the first major prose work in Malayalam that makes use of various punctuation marks. The use of internationally accepted punctuation marks like the *period*, *semicolon* and *comma* in the scribal and printing tradition of Malayalam is an innovation popularised by Basel Mission presses at Tellicherry and Mangalore. Cf *Velayudhan* (1981:147)

### Paper

The use of *paper* was well known in Kerala from the fifteenth century as testified by the history of printing in Kerala. For the *Doctrina* printed in Quilon in 1578 *paper made in China* was used. Missionary writings are found invariably on paper.

### Journalism

The *Basel Mission* at Tellicherry started *Raajya Samaacaaram*, the first Malayalam journal, in June 1847. The primary aim of the publication as it can be normally expected was the dissemination of christian news. It was intended to help the neoconverts grow in faith and Christian knowledge. The journal as testified by *Kunhappa* (1973:99) helped the members of the Basel Mission get over their petty feelings and emerge as a casteless community, a rare phenomenon in the caste-based traditional society of Kerala.

In October 1847 another periodical with the title *Pascimodayam* was started, again from Basel Mission, Tellichery. F.Muller was the editor of this journal. Hermann Gundert, as seen from the titles published in it, was the mastermind behind this publication. *Pascimodayam* published articles and small write-ups on topics of general interest like geography, astronomy, history, science, graphemics, etc.

The third journal in Malayalam *Jnaananiiksepam* was published from Kottayam. The first issue came out in 1848. Bailey, Mathen and Koshy were the missionaries behind this publication. The first college magazine in Kerala was published in July 1864 viz., *Cottayam College Quarterly Magazine*. As a bilingual journal edited by Mathen, this carried research - oriented articles on various topics. The lead provided by Christian missionaries in journalism was taken up by many organizations and individuals in the Christian community.

The momentum of Christian missionary initiative is still felt in the field of printing and journalism. Some of the most famous presses and publications in Kerala still belong to Christian organisations which in turn trace their origin or inspiration to missionary efforts.

### Dictionaries and Grammatical Works

Great foreign missionaries like Arnos, Gundert, and Bailey are remembered for their monumental contributions to Malayalam lexicography. All of them gave primary importance to bilingual dictionaries. The multilingual background of missionaries might have helped them in the compilation of these voluminous works.

Among the oldest dictionaries of Malayalam *Vocabularium Malabarico Lustianum* by Arnos paatiri deserves special mention. This Malayalam-Portuguese dictionary, though extensively used by many foreign missionaries, appeared in print only in 1986. To this printed version an English translation also is added. The fact that it was printed in Kerala after centuries will bear testimony to its importance.

Arnos as per secondary information available today, composed two other dictionaries also: Sanskrit - Portuguese



*Dictionary and Malayalam - Sanskrit - Portuguese Dictionary*. But they are yet to be traced.

There are scholars who would describe Arnos as the *first indologist of Europe*. It is true that he prepared a *grammar of Sanskrit* on the basis of *Sidharuupam* and it was used by many other European indologists, especially missionaries. But this book never appeared in print. This work is known as *Grammatica Grandonica*.

Among western Christian missionaries who worked in Kerala, Arnos has the *rare distinction* of being honoured as a *popular poet*. Christians in Kerala still sing some of his poems, especially *puttenpaana* or *kuutaasappaana*, with great relish and deep devotion. Some of the *hymns* composed by Gundert also are still used by certain Christian congregations.

Arnos prepared a grammar of Malayalam in portuguese for the use of other missionaries. This has the title *Arte Malabar*. A manuscript copy of this work is preserved in the British Museum with the subtitle *Grammar of the Malabar Language (Grantham) in Portuguese*. A close perusal of the book which is very much paying reveals that the author is dealing with the literary dialect of Malayalam. Again, in this respect also Gundert has followed the line of Arnos and he has surpassed him by the quality of his works. He has dealt with the *literary dialect of Malayalam synchronically and diachronically* in his monumental grammar and dictionary.

*A Malayalam and English Dictionary* by Gundert was published in 1872. This has been reprinted several times and still an *indispensable reference work* for any serious study of Malayalam language. This book has *citations* from Malayalam literary classics, official records, folk songs, proverbs, etc., and may be described as a *miniencyclopaedia* on Kerala and its people. Velayudhan (1981) has the following observation about this work:

‘One could say without any exaggeration that the publication of Gundert’s Dictionary marked the take-off stage of lexicographical and grammatical work in Kerala. There has not been a student of Malayalam before and after him who knew as many languages as he did, who could boast of sound philogical training coupled with actual proficiency in a score of languages, Indian and foreign’.

*Malayaala bhaasaa vyaakaranam*, Gundert's Grammar of the Malayalam language excelled all other grammatical works available in Malayalam at the time of its publication by its scientific rigour and popularity. This book continues to influence grammarians of Malayalam, including modern linguists. *Ezhuthachan* (1975:50) provides a contemporary objective evaluation of this work.

'Gundert's grammar has a number of defects and has been superseded by more popular works. But the fact remains that there is no other grammatical work even now which gives so many examples and details connected with the actual structure of the language... His Malayalam grammar though written 100 years ago with imperfect data, has many interesting points and his opinions still carry weight with all writers who work on Malayalam grammar'.

Gundert, immediately after his arrival in Malabar, had prepared a short treatise on Malayalam with the title *Grammar of the Malayalam*. A manuscript copy of this work, completed in 1839, is available in Tuebingen University library. This work in English was meant for other foreign missionaries who were to join him in Malabar. In 1851 when he published the first part of his grammar it was completely in Malayalam. But subsequently he permitted his publisher *Diez* to include English subtitles in the complete edition of 1868. However, it must be admitted that Gundert's treatment of the Malayalam language, both in his grammar and in his dictionary takes into account the *native speaker's point of view* and needs.

Gundert's Herculean efforts for mastering the genius of the Malayalam language and understanding the cultural ethos of Kerala can be clearly understood from the vivid descriptions and thought-provoking comments recorded in his *diary* which is now available in print in three volumes.

*Malayaalmayute Vyaakaranam* by *Mathen* was published in 1863 at Kottayam. This work sparkles with originality of ideas and strikes the reader with the feeling of freshness it provides among all other grammatical treatises on Malayalam. He has used many new terms to designate grammatical concepts and parts of speech. Recognizing the importance of *mid-central vowel /u/* in Malayalam,

he accorded *phonemic status* to it and also pointed out the need to have a *special script* for it. *Variar* (1979) has pointed out on several occasions the importance of Mathen's grammar.

Mathen was an ardent supporter of the Malayalam language. He wanted it to be used in all spheres of life including education and administration. He himself translated some scholarly works from other languages and coined beautiful technical terms using the inherent capabilities of Malayalam. Cf *Chandanappally* 1969. He sought the use of Malayalam in all public offices in Kerala. This love of Malayalam made him critical of the intellectual elite of Kerala. He prefaces his grammar with the following remarks:

'The absolute want of a Malayalam Grammar in the Language itself, was the motive, which prevailed with him to take up his pen on the subject. The Ancient Literati of the country, being chiefly Brahmins, were only anxious to acquire a knowledge of the Sanscrit and regarded the vernacular as unworthy of their attention; which fully accounts for the want of any of Grammatical work by the Natives themselves. It was this circumstance, which made the Language to be commonly looked upon by foreigners as a poor and ungrammatical jargon whereas its natural capabilities are as good as those of any other language of South India, requiring only cultivation to develop its riches and beauties. My acquaintance with the Learned Language as well as with some of the cognate Dialects and my being engaged in translations, revisions and original compositions in the language, qualified me in some measure for undertaking the work, which was felt to be great desideratum (Mathen (1863) 1969:11)

The Christian missionaries in general shared the noble sentiments expressed by Mathen in the words quoted above. In the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese came to Kerala, the Christian missionaries stressed the need for giving importance to Malayalam. The seminary of *Vaipicotta*, established by the Portuguese, was perhaps the first academic institution to offer a course in the Malayalam language. Bishop Roz, prepared materials for this purpose and set apart hours to teach Malayalam.

The Synod of *Diamper* condemned the practice of teaching catechism in the Syriac language and insisted that it should be in

Malayalam. It specifically pointed out that the universal custom of the church was '*to teach the doctrine to children and the people in their mother tongue*' (Hough 1839:65). This point is being stressed here to avoid the contemporary prejudice that Christianisation has been partly responsible for the *non- promotion of regional languages*. In fact, it is the opposite that is true. One may be in the right if one says that it was the upper class members of the Indian society, irrespective of caste and religion, and bureaucracy who joined hands to keep the regional languages like Malayalam out of education and administration. Anyhow, *western Christian missionaries*, as testified by documentary evidence, were *ardent promoters of regional languages like Malayalam*.

Joseph Peet has published two books on Malayalam grammar. *A Grammar of the Malayalam Language* (1841) is designed in such a way that it can be profitably used both by foreigners and by natives. The sections on orthography and syntax provide fresh insights. An excerpt from the preface of this work will give any reader a feel of this missionary grammarian's linguistic sensibility.

The young student's attention is requested to the two following cautionary statements

That no native Malayalam Grammar has ever been written, and therefore it will occasion no surprise to find that, until within the last 25, or 30 years, no native written purely Malayalam Work can be found.

There does indeed exist a written conglomerate called *baasha*, or common Dialect; but nearly all, and, entirely all termed good native writings of the kind, are in slogums; in which *Sense* is sacrificed to *Sound*.

These writings are, for the most part made up of Provincialisms, mixed with words, ideas, and illustrations from Sanscrit, Tamil and their Cognate languages; so that, without an Interpreter, they are a dead letter, even to a native reader. Indeed they were partly composed upon the ancient Brahminical principle "*Amuse but impose*".

*Elements of Malayalam Grammar* is a grammatical treatise in Malayalam which was extensively used as a textbook. The second edition of this book was printed in 1854.

*A Progressive Grammar of the Malayalam Language for Europeans* is a unique treatise on Malayalam as Frohnmeyer, the missionary author, very clearly analyses the relation between language and society. Occasionally he compares Malayalam with many European languages like Greek, Latin, English, German, etc. This book will be a useful guide to any European who has an active interest in Kerala studies. For a native speaker it provides valuable information about dialects and special languages. In fact he has given more importance to the spoken language. Ezhuthachan (1975:618) has the following complimentary remark about Frohnmeyer:

'An exhaustive grammar paying equal attention to theory and practice is still a desideration in Malayalam and for those who embark on writing such a work will doubtlessly get very much help from the work of our author'.

Frohnmeyer's *Introduction* to his grammar is noteworthy for several reasons. In this he has made the following pertinent remarks which may be of interest in the context of the issues discussed in this paper:

'Turning to the Malayalam Prose, besides the Keralolpatti... some ancient medical treatises and the Tellicherry records (Chiefly A.D 1796-1799) not much can be mentioned of old prose. On the advance of Western culture, the task of moulding the colloquial language in such a manner as to make it an appropriate vehicle for conveying new ideas and occidental knowledge had been left almost entirely to foreign educationists and missionaries, aided by the Indian assistants. This did not only result in the frequent use of English constructions in Malayalam (e.g. the use of the Passive Voice, scarcely ever occurring in classical Malayalam,) but has with the difference between the Northern and Southern dialects increased the difficulty of arriving at anything like a general standard for Malayalam prose. Genuine native productions from the South and North of Malabar show that the difference between North and South is not irreconcilable. That the Malayalam language has yielded to a process of modification due to Western Culture and Christianity is a matter of course. It is for the Malayalam Bible, good school books, newspapers, and periodicals to prepare the way for a standard Malayalam. But nothing can be hoped for until the educated part of the Malayalam people has come to understand that their mother-tongue must be made the vehicle of

*modern culture making the language keep pace with the general national progress and the advance of civilisation. The manner in which the language is dealt with in government offices and court translations (Sometimes more like a transliteration than a translation), together with the Anglo-Malayalam jargon of English-learning pupils does much to impoverish the language.*

Bailey compiled and published two standard bilingual dictionaries. They may be described as the first two printed dictionaries of Malayalam.

*A Dictionary of High and Colloquial Malayalam, Cottayam 1846*

*A Dictionary of English and Malayalam, Cottayam 1849*

The preponderance of Sanskrit words in these dictionaries may be pointed out as a major defect. Gundert (1872:vi) has criticised Bailey for not discriminating between Sanskrit and Malayalam words. Guptan Nair (1986:111) treats this work as important as it includes many archaic expressions and dialectal variants.

Gundert has expressed his indebtedness to two other bilingual dictionaries also. They are generally called *Verapoly dictionaries* and Gundert marks them as *V<sub>1</sub>* and *V<sub>2</sub>*. Aiyar (1940:324) has the following observation about these dictionaries.

'The Portuguese-English and English-Portuguese Dictionaries, called by Gundert the "*Verapoly Dictionaries*", are (to cite the words of Gundert who has freely utilised the materials of these dictionaries for his own work) "very valuable works compiled by the Portuguese and Italian missionaries of Verapoly, which though completed in 1746 rest upon materials accumulated in the 17th, perhaps even the 16th century, and rank as the oldest monuments extant of European scholarship in India".

No copy of this work is available to-day; but the numerous items cited by Gundert in his work sufficiently indicate that the work may have been mainly based on the language of the Christians'.

These dictionaries are available in Tuebingen University library. Cf Zacharia 1989:388-394. *Malayalam-Portuguese Dictionary (V<sub>1</sub>)* compiled in 1745 has more than six hundred pages. Perhaps, this is the biggest Malayalam dictionary compiled before the

publication of dictionaries in the nineteenth century. *Portuguese-Malayalam dictionary* (V2) which is undated has fewer than four hundred pages. These works may be considered the cumulative result of the lexicographical efforts of several Catholic missionaries who were working in Kerala, especially in central Kerala.

A *Latin-Malayalam dictionary* of about eight thousand words is available in Vatican library. Vallavanthara (1984) treats it as the dictionary of Peanius. Colloquial words are given a prominent place in this manuscript dictionary. A *Malayalam-Latin-English dictionary* was published from Verapoly in 1851.

The first *Malayalam-Malayalam dictionary* was compiled by Richard Collins with the help of Raman Variar and Subramonian Potti. This was published in 1867 with the title *Malayaanma nighantu*. In the second edition of 1905 the title was changed to *Malayaala nighantu*.

Missionary efforts in Malayalam lexicography continued till the second half of the twentieth century. Many lexicographers of recent times, especially catholic monks, have refrained from putting their names on their voluminous works.

### Historical Perspectives

Christian missionaries had an active interest in the *history of Kerala*. So they took pains to collect all the possible source materials of history. In 1843 Gundert edited and published *Keeraloolpatti*, the famous legend about the origin of Kerala and its people. Depending on reliable sources he narrated the history of Malabar (1498-1631) under the title *Keerala Palama* and this was published in 1868. Gundert's translation and analysis of copper plate records in possession of St. Thomas Christians and Jews appeared in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. xii, part I & II, 1844/45 pp. 115-146. Gundert's collection of *Tellicherry Records (1796-1800)* preserved in 13 volumes in Tuebingen University library also reveals the interest he and his colleagues had in historical records. As early as 1606, Gouvea, a Roman Catholic priest who accompanied archbishop Alexis Meneses in his Kerala tour, published a voluminous book with the title *JORNADADO Arcebispo De Goa DOM Frey Aleixo de Meneses Primas da India oriental religiso da ordem de S. Agostinho*,

Coimbra. Two other treatises on the Christian community in Kerala also deserve special mention for the pains taking research and source materials behind those works. *Voyage to the East Indies* by Vincent Maria (Venice: 1728) provides very interesting information about the life of people in Kerala, especially St Thomas Christians.

*India Orientals Christiana* by Paulinus provides a description of Kerala with details of principalities, kings, churches and social leaders of the eighteenth century. A sixteenth century curious description of Kerala and Kerala Christians ran into twentyfive different versions in seven European languages needs to be mentioned. The narrator is *Joseph the Indian*, a St Thomas Christian priest who travelled aboard one of the ships of Pedro Alvares Cabral from Cochin to Portugal in 1501.

### Folk Literature

Missionaries were the pioneers in collecting *folk literature of Malayalam*. In 1791 a collection of *Malayalam proverbs* with Latin translation was printed and published in Rome: *Centum Adagia Malabarica cum Textu Originali*, Versone Latina. The great scholar missionary Paulinus was the compiler of this book.

In 1845 Gundert's collection of *Malayalam proverbs* was published from Mangalore. The Basel Mission press at Mangalore has brought out several editions of this book with additions and comments. The following editions are available in various libraries:

*Palancolmaala*, Mangalore 1845

*Oru Aayiram Palancol*, Tellicherry 1850

*Oru Aayiram Palancol*, Mangalore 1856

Gundert's critical edition of *Keeraloolpatti* also reveals his love for mythological and folkloristic studies. Gundert himself considered this an important work. He has referred to *Keeraloolpatti* on several occasions in his own writings.

### Translation

Missionaries were very good translators. They have translated books from classical languages like Hebrew, Greek, Sanskrit and Syriac to Malayalam. Some of their translations are from modern European languages like Portuguese, German and English. Their



translations in Malayalam include works from modern Indian languages like *Bengali*, *Kannada*, *Tamil*, etc. In this translation work they used to receive assistance from local experts.

The early Catholic missionaries who reached Kerala took pains to study Syriac, the liturgical language of St. Thomas Christians. Scholar missionaries like Bishop Roz translated many Latin texts into Syriac. Bishop Roz knew Syriac and Malayalam very well. So in the Canons of Diamper synod there are several references in which the synod authorises Roz and his colleagues to translate Latin documents and prayers into Syriac language. Even the *text of the Mass was translated from Latin to Syriac*.

Among hundreds of translated works of missionaries the following are very important for their literary quality or for their unique position in the history of the Malayalam language.

- (i) John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* had two translations in Malayalam -

*Paradesi Moksayaatra*

(tr) Archdeacon Koshy, Kottayam 1847

and *Sancaariyute Prayaanam*

(tr) Hermann Gundert, Tellicherry 1849

- (ii) A religious play by Hermann Moegling was translated from Kannada by two missionaries.

*Mata Vicaarana*

(tr) Hermann Gundert, Manglore 1845 Tellicherry 1846

and *Mata vicaarana*

(tr) Joseph Peet, Kottayam 1846

Both the translations are noteworthy for the use of dialect in the conversations. Gundert's translation is full of dialectal variations of North Malabar. Peet uses the dialects of Kottayam and surroundings. A contrastive analysis of these two works will bear ample testimony to the linguistic sensitiveness and literary aptitude of the translators. Cf Zacharia 1989:492-499.

- (iii) John Bunyan's *Holywar* which is very often described as an excellent example of mystic literature, was translated by Archdeacon Koshy with the title *Tirupporaattam*.

- (iv) *Joseph Butler's Analogy of Religion*, a complex treatise on religion was translated by *George Mathen* with the title *Veda Samyukti* and its first part was published at Kottayam in 1866.
- (v) *Herzbuchlein* of *Johanness Evangelista* was translated from German by *Hermann Gundert* and this work is most noteworthy for the quality of pictures found in this booklet. This book was printed at Tellicherry in 1848 with the title *Maanusa Hrudayam*. Cf *Choondal* 1975.
- (vi) *Jnaanma piinusam* and *Jnaana Prajaagaram* are two books translated from Tamil and they were printed in 1847 and 1862 respectively. Cf *Zacharia* 1989: 466
- (vii) *Hermann Gundert's* translation and commentary of *Asvaghosa's Vajrasuci* is a powerful attack on the caste system. It was first printed in 1851 at Tellicherry.
- (viii) *Catherine Hannah Mullen's* Bengali novel was translated into Malayalam by *Joseph Peet* and it was published from Kottayam in 1858 with the title *Phulmoni ennum Kooruna ennum peeraayarantu Striikalute Katha* 'the story of Phulmoni and Koruna'. This was the first work to appear in the form of a novel in Malayalam. In that restricted sense this work may be described as the first novel in Malayalam.
- (ix) *The Slayer Slain* by *Mrs Collins*, a novel depicting the social life of Central Kerala, was translated into Malayalam by *Mr Collins* and it was published from Kottayam in 1877 with the title *Ghaataka Vadham*. Some Scholars consider this the first novel in Malayalam.

## The Bible Translations

The Bible translations in Malayalam deserve a special reference. Two great missionaries, *Bailey* and *Gundert*, devoted a large share of their time and energy to this task. Though Kerala has a very ancient Christian community, the Malayalam Bible came out later than its counterparts in Tamil (1714), Urdu (1743), Bengali

(1800), Hindi (1809), Marathi (1805), Sanskrit (1808), Gujarati (1809) and Oriya (1809).

With the support of *Claudius Buchanan* and *Colonel Munro*, *Philipose Ramban* of Kayamkulam prepared the first Malayalam translation of the *New Testament* from Syriac. *The New Testament* of our Lord and Saviour Jesus christ translated into Malayalam, Part I containing the four Gosepls - Bombay printed at Courier Press 1811. This translation was defective in many ways. The undue influence of the Tamil Bible is visible everywhere. The high percentage of Syriac words makes it hardreading. *Aiyar* (40:324) has the following comment on the language of this work:

'Though many old Malayalam words, forms and usages are used, there are also peculiar corruptions strange constructions (due to the influence of the Syntax of Syriac, I am told) and artificial translations that definitely betray the interference of non- Malayalis. The full circumstance in which the translation was printed in Bombay might perhaps explain these artificialities'.

*Bailey* completed the translation and publication of the Malayalam Bible during the period 1829-1841 with the help of local experts including a Jew and a few priests. The first part was published in 1829.

*The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* Translated into the Malayalam Language, *Cottayam*, printed at the Church Mission Press, for the Madras Auxiliary Bible society 1829. *The Old Testament* was published in two parts in 1840 and 1841 completing the whole Bible. Considering the various limitations in the execution of such a Himalayan project, this translation is definitely commendable. But it was severely criticised. Some have found it full of Sanskrit words. *Gundert* found this translation devoid of the literariness of the original in Hebrew and Greek and attributed this loss to the indirect translation through English. Cf *Thomas* 1989: 212 & *Zacharia* 1989: 348

Dissatisfied with *Bailey's* Bible translation *Gundert* translated most of the Bible.

*New Testament: Putiya niyamam*, Tellicherry 1852

Poetical Books: *Pavitra lekhakal*, Tellicherry 1857

*Prophetical Books: Pravaacaka lekhakal*, Mangalore 1886

This translation is most noteworthy for the use of traditional literary expressions with which *Gundert* was most familiar. Subsequently the translations of *Bailey* and *Gundert* were combined at the initiative of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society and the combined edition was printed at Mangalore in 1887.

**Influence of the Bible and its Translation**

The influence of the Bible translation in the development of modern Malayalam prose has been estimated differently by various scholars. *George* (1972), after taking into account the divergent views on this subject, makes the following statement:

'The Malayalam version of the Bible has shown that great ideas can be couched in simple language not far removed from the spoken tongue. There have been critics of the prose style of the Malayalam Bible. Some of them feel that certain usages smack of western idioms, and they call it *paadiri Malayalam*, in a derogatory sense. There is a certain amount of truth in this. The translators must have been more keen about fidelity to the original than about the beauty of diction. And since most of the work was done by small groups, no individual style was possible. It is quite a difficult task to give expression to a completely alien culture in a language far removed in background and mode of expression. In certain situations, therefore, the translator is obliged to sacrifice either *idiom of faithfulness to the original*. And in the translation of Scripture, it is better to sacrifice idiom in order to preserve fidelity. By and large, this is what happened in the Malayalam translation. In any case, it is true to say that modern Malayalam prose has been to some extent influenced by the language of the Bible'.

*The influence of the Bible on the Malayalam language and literature* is a topic that is worth pursuing. But the question whether the influence of the Bible on Malayalam can be directly attributed to missionary or Christian efforts is likely to meet with a negative answer from many lovers of literature. Bible culture has reached Malayalam through various other sources especially western literature. Anyhow it has to be admitted that in the modern Malayalam language and literature *Bible images are used abundantly* and their frequency is on the increase.

## Text Books

The involvement of western missionaries in the preparation and execution of *school curriculum* has influenced the form and content of *school textbooks in Kerala*. The missionaries were the pioneers in the preparation of school textbooks. The first textbook committee of Travancore was formed in 1868. But much before that many standard textbooks in Malayalam were in use especially in Malabar.

The first Malayalam Reader was compiled by *Hermann Gundert* in 1860: *Paathamala*. This anthology which was used in Malabar for several years comprised selections from Malayalam classics like *Raamacaritam*, *Raamaayanam*, *Bhaaratam*, *Pancatantram*, *Veetala Caritam* etc. Most of the prose lessons were the handwork of the compiler. Gundert's *Malayala Bhaasaa Vyaakaranam* was used as the textbook of grammar from its very first edition in 1851. *Catechism of Malayalam Grammar* prepared by Gundert and edited by Garthwait went through many editions and was used as the textbook in schools.

## Textual Criticism

Many Malayalam classics like *Pancatantram* and *Mudraaraaksasam* were edited by missionaries for the use of students in schools and colleges. *Pancatantram* appeared in print in 1847 at Kottayam and in 1851 at Tellicherry. In the 1868 Mangalore edition of *Pancatantram* (ed) Garthwait all the words are separated using the dash so that students can follow the text more profitably. The *technique of editing* with a scholarly introduction, copious notes, basic references and the index is an innovation propagated in Kerala by Christian missionaries.

## Propagation of Science

The missionaries especially members of CMS and Basel Mission were keenly interested in propagating *scientific knowledge*. *Vidyaamuulakannal*, a general knowledge digest published from Kottayam in 1858 is most noteworthy for its subject content, mode of presentation and Malayalam diction. The book explains natural phenomena like the wind, cloud, rain, thunder and cyclone. Products of modern technology like divingbell also are introduced. *Mrugacaritam* by J G Beuttler is an introduction of animal life

printed with multicolour pictures at the CMS press, Kottayam in 1861. *Prakrutiisaastram*, a textbook of physics by *Frohnmeier* presents the beauty and vigour of Malayalam prose in science literature. Missionaries made a good job devising a prose style and mode of treatment which would serve as the medium of modern science. At the same time they maintained their commitment to religion and spiritual values. They believed that religiosity and scientific temperament are not opposite but mutually complementary. This sober vision of science and religion enabled them to be effective agents of modernisation.

### Prose Style

*Modern Malayalam Prose* has occupied a prominent place in literature and in many types of formal discourses. But it was not so before the advent of the western Christian missionaries. Prose, the common language of the people, was never treated as a powerful medium of effective communication. In *classical Indian languages* like Sanskrit and Tamil *prose had no significant role to play* as the medium of literature or scientific discourse. This tradition was shared by all Indian languages and *Malayalam was no exception* to it. Inscriptions, a few sections of literary works generically called *campu* and minor puranic treatises may be cited as samples of early Malayalam prose.

Dr P J Thomas, author of the monumental work on Christians and Malayalam literature has summarised the contributions of Christians to Malayalam language under five headings. They are:

- i. evolution of powerful prose style
- ii. development of printing
- iii. development of publishing
- iv. massive improvement of literacy
- v. growth of journalism.

During the colonial period Christians became instrumental in the development of these branches of knowledge industry. Towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present century, gaining momentum from the above-mentioned sources forces of secularism surfaced in the Kerala Society. *Kandathil Varghese Mappila*, the founder of the *Malayala Manorama* symbolises the role played by Christians at this crucial turn of

events. His newspaper and a literary forum promoted by him called *Bhasaposini Sabha* brought together writers from different religions, castes and regions. The oldest Malayalam literary journal, founded by him, promoted cultural symbiosis, the hallmark of Kerala culture. So for the people of Kerala, especially Christians, transition to the postcolonial period was very smooth in Malayalam language and literature. Christian writers could smoothly join the mainstream of society.

### Poetry

Native Christian poets were mainly interested in narrating Bible episodes, especially the story of Christ in neoclassical forms like the Mahakavya. *Kattakkayathil Cherian Mappila*, *KV Simon*, *Puthenkavu Mathen Tharakan*, *Pravithanam Devasia*, and *Mathew Ulakamthara* have produced bhakti kavyas without attempting reinterpretation. Many other Christians have proved their ability in versification but very few have established themselves as poets in Malayalam. *Sr Mary Beninja*, *CA Joseph*, *Cherian K Cherian* and *George Thomas* have manifested poetic genius through their lyrics. Among all the Christian poets *George Thomas* has a special place, as his poetic language is studded with biblical images and signs.

In this respect he is surpassed only by non Christian poets like *Vayalar Rama Varma*, *ONV Kurup*, *Sachidanandan*, *Balachandran Chullikkadu* and *Nellikal Muraleedharan*. It may be noted that most of these poets draw inspiration from the Marxian world view.

### Impact of Marxism

The impact of Marxism in Kerala and its reflections in Malayalam literature are too well known. Most of the well established Christian writers in Malayalam came under the spell of Marxism. The authoritarianism and servility rampant in many traditional churches of Kerala promoted eminent writers like *Ponkunnam Varkey* and *CJ Thomas* to echo the famous words of *Prometheus* as quoted by *Karl Marx*:

'I shall never exchange my fetters for slavish servility. It is better to be chained to the rock than bound to the service of Zeus'. (Marx and Engels, *On Religion*). For them freedom is the basic purpose and incentive of human life or is the supreme value. Modern feminist writers like *Gracey* and *Sara Joseph* represent this mood in contemporary fiction.

## Fiction

As for veteran novelists like Ponjikkara Rafi and Parappuram their Christian knowledge and formation, enabled them to depict the emotional chains of Christian characters. *Kakkanadan, Zachria* and *John Abraham* are obsessed with the guilt consciousness of Christians. *E M Kovoov, Muttathu Varkey, Kanam, E J, J K V, George Onakkoor, T V Varkey, Mathew Mattam* and *Joseph Mattam* are popular Christian novelists. *CL Jose* is popular as a dramatist. In the field of literary criticism *M P Paul* and *Joseph Mundasserry* are regarded as 'master builders'. *I C Chacko* and *P C Devasia* are regarded as grand masters of the Sanskrit language and literature. *Dr K M George* and *K M Tharakan* have made substantial contributions to the study of literature.

A casual glance through the popular periodicals in Malayalam may bring to our notice names of several Christians serialising novels in them. They are very popular writers. But usually they are not regarded as literary masters. Most of the Christian writers, who appear only in Christian periodicals are also not counted as serious literary figures. Some of them may be living on writing, but not regarded as writers. This is a topic that is usually debated in forums of Christian writers. Many of them would consider this religious discrimination. To me, it appears, that they are denied accreditation as writers, simply because their works are lacking in literariness.

## Secularism

Personally speaking, I am reluctant to segregate Christian writers of the twentieth century as a special group and to deal with their works separately. The forces of secularism are so strong in contemporary Malayalam literature that the best literary compositions manifesting Christian motifs and values are produced mostly by non-Christians. *Vallathol Narayana Menon, Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, G Sankara Kurup, Edasseri Govindan Nair, Vayalar Rama Varma, ONV Kurup, Vishnu Narayan Nampoothiri, Sachidanandan, Balachandran Chullikadu, D Vinaya Chandran, M T Vasudevan Nair, N S Madhavan, C V Balakrishnan* and *K P Appan* manifest more christianness in contemporary Malayalam literature than most of the Christian writers.



Dr P J Thomas, who composed the most authoritative work on Christians and the Malayalam language refused to describe separately the contributions of Christians to Malayalam literature in the twentieth century. His argument was that such a listing was irrelevant as Kerala society has entered the age of secularism. The modern literary texts of Malayalam, especially intertexts, amply justify the view of this veteran scholar who loved both Christians and Malayalam.

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# CHRISTIANS AND MARATHI

A.B.Sai Prasad

Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, had once said: It is a great mistake to suppose that God is only or evenly concerned with religion. (quotation from Sri. G.L. Chandavarkar's book on *Dhondu Keshav Karve*, publications Division, April 1970, P.237). As if to prove the words of Dr. William Temple, the Queens proclamation of November 1, 1858 concluded with the following words: "In their (Natives) prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment and in their gratitude, our best reward". (Ibid P.6). This may be one of the reasons for the intellectual rule of Lord Canning (1858-1862) the first viceroy under the crown, Lord Rippan (1880-1884) 'the good', as great liberal politician, Lord Mayo (Governor-General of India) who was responsible for the foundation of the Mayo College at Ajmer and Lahore, Lord Curzon (1899-1905) and the series of other rulers. Even the tyrant rule of Lord Lytton has silently contributed for the enrichment of Indian Languages and Literature (A comparative study of Early Novels in Hindi and Telugu Dr. A.B. Sai Prasad, Girisha Publications, Madras. First Edition 1991, P.15, 16 & 25).

Reviewing the Literary cum cultural scene of 19th century, Hindi critic *Laskhmi Narayana Varshaneya* says: the 19th century has an important place in the history of India not only from the view point of politics but also from the view point of literature (*Beesveen Satabdi Hindi Sahitya Nayasandarbha*, Sahitya Bhavan P.Ltd., Allahabad. First Edition 1966.p.91). By 1818 A.D. the English people had conquered the Maharashtra. After the conquest

initially, the rulers were benevolent. The First Governor of Bombay Mount Stuart Elphinstone (1819-1827) has knowingly contributed to the growth of Marathi language. In fact the first Marathi English dictionary by James Molesworth has seen the light of the day by his blessings only. His nephew, Lord Elphinstone, along with the Christian missions of both Europe and America, is responsible for the second edition of the aforesaid dictionary. According to Dr.G.N.Joglekar (Prof. & Head, Department of Marathi, Fergusson College, Pune) Mount Stuart Elphinstone knew Marathi very well and has edited a book containing information about Maharashtra (*Marathi Vangmayacha Abhinav Itihas from 1800 A.D. to 1920*, Sneha Vardhan Publishing House, Pune, December 1991, P.5). These stalwarts laid firm foundation for the healthy growth of Marathi language and literature. Thus the demand for progress arose not from Government but from the people (Professor Rushbrook Williams vide G.L. Chandravarkar's book on *Dhondu Kesav Karve*, publication division, 1970, P.6).

The Marathi language to a large extent and Marathi literature to some extent is indebted to the Christian missionaries who came to India even before British conquest. In fact these missionaries with the sole purpose of spreading Christianity started landing on the Indian soil soon after Portuguese power was established on the Western coast. They realised that the best way to spread the Gospel among the natives is to speak to them in their own language. Having realised the importance of learning the local language, Father Thomas Stephens (1549-1619) took the lead. He rendered the Holy Bible into Marathi. This free rendering was in two volumes. He christened his translation as *Krista Purana*. Being an intelligent man, he closely followed the Marathi classics like *Jnaneswari* of Saint Gnaneshwar. He begins his *Krista purana* with salutations to Almighty God. The eulogia is similar both in its tone and tenor to that of Saint Jnyaneshwar. Here is one example.

I bow to Thee, creator of the universe. Oh All powerful, you are an ocean of piety and bliss. It is not possible to see your beginning and end. Blissful light of knowledge, the whole universe is persuaded by you. You alone are unmanifested.

Infinite and without any attribute, Creation of the world, the Heaven, the Moon and The planets is an easy play with you. A single word from you sanctifies the world.

Ignorance withers away when you enter our minds. Your love showers sweetness of nectar upon us. (Tr) (*Kamal N. Velankar's Essay Marathi Language. Comparative Indian Literature Vol. I. Chief Editor K.M. George, Kerala Saintya Academy & Mac Millon India Limited, 1984, P.240*). Father *Stephens* was more Marathi than the Marathi. He had immense love for Marathi Language. He has this to say about the greatness of Marathi: It is a mogra (Jasmine) among flowers, the musk among scents, the blue diamond among jewels and a peacock among birds (*Ibid P.241*).

There were other missionaries like Frenchman Fr. *Elienne-de-La Croin* (1579-1643), Fr. *Antonio-de-Saldhana* (-1613), etc., who tried their hand in translating the Gospel into Marathi. They were not crowned with success. Even to this day, Fr. *Stephens* stands like a Colossus among the translators of the Gospel.

By 1818, Maratha power came to an end. The English people took the reins of government into their hand. Traditional folk forms of poetry according to some critics suffered because of the conquest. This was compensated by American Marathi Mission. In 1813 the mission was established. Under its auspices, translation of Christian Books and Evengelical works started appearing. By 1840 four different versions of the Gospel of *St Mathew* by the different missionary societies were brought out. As the American Missions translation was very close to Greek Text, it became very popular. These translations gave modern authentic form to Marathi Language. People even coined a word. They called it English enbodiment of Marathi prose (*Marathi Gadyachi Ingreji Avatar, Sumithra Tilak, Sahitya Darshan, Book Corner, Mahal, Nagpur. P.39*).

In the year 1824, the American Missionary Society started the first school for Hindu Girls in Bombay. By 1829, Bombay had 9 schools with 400 girls on the rolls. Now the rulers felt the need for text books. Officers were appointed to prepare text books with the help of Native Scholars. To encourage people, Lord *Elphinstone* the Resident of Poona created a fund by name Dakshina Fund. It was

originally given to Sanskrit Scholar. From 1821 onwards it was given to the best writing in Marathi. (Vol.I. Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature, Sahitya Academy P.304)

The popularity of '*Christ Purana*' written in Roman Script, by *Stephens*, an English Jesuit settled in Goa, almost compelled the rulers to come out with some dictionaries. (Three editions of this were brought out in 17th century). Strangely the rulers and the missionaries, by this time, could not see eye to eye with each other. *Sri Achyut Keshav Bhagavat* states British administrative efforts and missionary activities were hostile to each other in the beginning, but later became complementary (Comparative Indian Literature Vol.I P.901) *Carey, William* (1761-1834) was one such victim. He was born in Northampton Shire in the family of a cobbler. He never had any formal education. Yet he learnt several European languages. He was interested in botany and theology. He was sent to Calcutta in 1793 by the Baptist Mission. For reasons best known to the then rulers, he was not allowed to settle down in Calcutta as the missionary activities were banned by East India Company. First he went to Madanbeti and then to Serampore. He was invited to Calcutta in the year 1800 to head the department of Sanskrit and Bengali in the college of Fort William. He has published six grammars for six languages - Bengali (1802), Marathi (1805), Sanskrit (1806), Punjabi (1812), Telugu (1814) & Kannada (1817). He could bring out his book *Grammar of Maharasta Language* in Collaboration with *Pandit Vidyanath* of Nagpur. *Sri K.S.Arjun Wadekar* points out that this (*Carey's Grammar*, was the first book on standard Marathi Language. (Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature Vol.II. P.1482-83). Paying rich tributes to his contribution to Indian Linguistics, *Sri Sisir Kumar Das* (Ibid Vol.I. P.602) says. Though a man of great erudition and wide interest *Carey* did not have much imaginative power or literary flow. His works are mainly of pedagogic value and philological interest. But he did yeoman service to Indian Linguistic studies by writing and compiling lexicons. In 1833 *J. Stephenson* of Poona brought out his books - *The Principles of Marathi Grammar*. This book is considered to be the first work in English in which the subject is treated systematically. One may find this to be a book containing more details. Poona, the cultural capital of Maharashtra, had one more grammarian by

name *E. Burges*. He was an American Missionary. According to critics this book has appeared anonymously in a Marathi garb as *Marathi Bhashache Vyakaran* (Ahamad Nagar 1848). This book is free from Sanskrit grammatical tradition. His suggestions are to this day either hotly contested or religiously supported (*Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature* Vol II P.1482-83). Apart from the Scholars mentioned above the following also have contributed their mite for the growth of Marathi Language.

1. *Bloch J.* The formation of the Marathi Language.
2. *Grierson G.A.* *Linguistic Survey of Indian* Vol III (Indo Aryan Family Southern group)

European Christians have not only brought out standard books on Marathi Grammar (mainly in English) but also compiled standard dictionaries. The credit of compiling the first Dictionary of Marathi Language goes to *William Carey*. Like his grammar even his Dictionary he brought out from Serampore only. This dictionary contains 8000 words and is printed in Modi Script (Like Deva Nagari Modi also means a script. Ancient Marathi Literature was written in this script. Now like Hindi Marathi has also adapted Deva Nagari). Marathi Pandit by name *Vidyanatha Sharma* helped Mr. Carey in compiling the dictionary. One Mr. *Vans Kennedy* too had compiled one dictionary for Marathi. This dictionary (which was printed in 1829) has two parts. It contains nearly 16,000 words).

By 1831, the missionaries as well as rulers could know that Marathi is one of the Languages of India. Here everything and any thing can be expressed aptly. In his preface to second Edition of *J.T. Molesworth's Marathi-English Dictionary* John Wilson writes ... the great richness and power of the Marathi Language which without exaggeration may be held capable of meeting any exigency in social life or in literature, science or religion - P.XXII (Second Edition Revised and Enlarged 1857). *T.J. Molesworth* (1795-1872) of Surrey was educated at Exeter (Devon). After education he joined Army as the Linguist of 9th Regiment. He rose to the rank of captain and retired in 1837. He was the one who impressed upon the then rulers the importance of lexicography. His dictionary was first published in the year 1829. This publication healded new era in the History of Modern Marathi language and Literature. *T.J. Molesworth's*

dictionary served two purposes. It helped natives to learn English and the rulers to learn Marathi. The Candy brothers (George and Thomas) assisted T.J. Molesworth for ten months beginning from April 1926. Molesworth published this dictionary on behalf of The Bombay Education Society. The first edition contained nearly 40,000 words. The Second edition (1857) which was enlarged and revised contained 60,000 words. This edition, according to the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature* (Vol.III. P.2750), contained 920 pages of lexical items. Mr. Thomas Candy had published another Dictionary English & Marathi in 1847. This was reprinted in 1873. Baba Padmanji a Convert, from Belgaon had edited a comprehensive Dictionary English and Marathi in the Year 1870. This is an edited version of T J Molesworth Dictionary.

European Christians and Missionaries who had realised the power of the language - Language is the Armoury of the Human Mind and it contains at once the trophies of its past and the weapons of its future conquest - (A Dictionary Marathi and English T J Molesworth, 2nd Edition 1857, Second Page) - have contributed copiously for the growth of Marathi Language. This power of the language made Sir Charles Metcalfe to say. I except to wake up one fine day and find India lost to English crown. Indeed India was lost to English Crown. Natives i.e. converted Christians, because of the love that they had to their mother tongue, have generously contributed to the Marathi Literature. The converted Christians had only changed their faith. But not their nationality. Their loyalties were with the soil and the language of the soil. Rev. Narayana Vaman Tilak (1865-1919) had said "changing one's religion does not mean changing one's country". (*Comparative Indian Literature* Vol.I.P.358). In their expression the converted Christians continued to be Indians. They were so much attached to their country and to the state to which they belonged that they retained their name and also the caste or religious suffix. Rev. Narayana Vaman Tilak, Panditha Rama Bai, Baba Pedmanji Laxmibai Tilak, Rev. Jani Ali, a muslim convert who was the superintendent of the Hostel for Christian students etc. are the examples for their love for their country and their original name. The converted christians have done pioneering work in the field of Novel, Poetry, Autobiographical writing,



Travelogue journalism etc. They are considered to be trend setters in their respective fields. The lovers of Marathi literature, particularly those who are living out side Maharashtra, have every right to know about them and their field of activity. Their life sketch with a brief introduction to their work is given here under:

*Baba Padmanji*: (b 1831-d-1906). He was a native of Belagaon a disputed town on the borders of Karnataka - Maharashtra. He was born in an orthodox Hindu Family in 1831. He was a preacher (Hardas). In a treadditional way he learnt-about-the *Ramayana Pandav Pratap, Hari Vijay* etc. After entering in to free church school, *Baba Padmanji* whose full name was *Muley Baba Padmanji* took interest in Christianity. About him Sri. A.R. Asolkar has this to say: He was against caste spirit. He advocated remarriage of Hindus widows. He disliked idolworship. He joined Parama Hansa Mandala which had similar ideology". (*Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature*, Sahitya Academy Vol.III. P.2794). He was a man of independent thinking. He during his life time never minced words for calling, a Spede a spade. When he dis agreed with Parama Hansa Mandala, he disassoicated himself with that. Finally in the year 1854 i.e. when he was 24 years old, he embraced Christianity and devoted his life for the spread of christianity. He worked as missionary for 16 long years in Poona. He became the guardian of the Free Church Mission in 1867. A multifaceted genius *Baba Padmanji* has during his life time penned more than hundred books. Though he has edited three dictionaries - (1) Marathi -English Dictionary (1863), *Shabda Ratnavali* (A Marathi Dictionary (1860), and Sanskrit Marathi Dictionary (1891) and has written *Autobiographical Arunodaya* (1884) he is chiefly remembered and adored as the author of first Marathi Social Novel - *Yamuna Paryatan*. This novel appeared in 1857. Sri M.D. Hatkanaglekar observes: The story of *Yamuna Paryartan* is imaginary, but it has a contemporary Social content. (*Indian Literature* Vol I. P.660) Author has used the contemporary burning Social Problem - the plight of a young Hindu widow to propagate christianity. The heroine *Yamuna* embraces christianity and encourages others particularly Hindu widows to get themselves converted in to Christianity. Sri M.D. *Hatkanaglekar* commenting on the novelty of this novel writes: The Problem which the novel has dealt with was not particular to

Christian community, it had a much wider relevance. It also reminds us of the social ferment that had already started in Maharashtra. The ferment was to grow stronger with the years and was to be one of the major urges behind modern literature (Indian Literature Vol.I P.660). Among the books authored by *Baba Padmanji* the following are the important titles. *Satik Marathi Nava Karar* (1864) *Vaidik Hindu Dharma* (1892) *Hindu Lokanchya Sananvishayi Nibandha* (1881) *Hindu Dharma Va Christi Dharma Yanchi Tulana* (1903) *Bapa Kade Jane* (1904). His book *Arunodaya* broadly deals with his Journey from Hinduism to Christianity. He is rightly called as the father of Marathi Christian Literature.

Rev. *Narayana Vaman Tilak* (1862-1919). Along with *Keshavasut* the first among the Kavi Panchak (Five Prominent Poets) Rev. *Narayana Vaman Tilak* galvanized modern poetry. Both had distinctive style. *Keshavasut* was known for his vociferousness. Compared to him Rev. *Narayana Vaman Tilak* a chit pavan brahmin by birth was a reputed scholar of Sanskrit. Some how he was not that happy with Hinduism. When he found Christianity can give him the required solace, with open arms he embraced christianity. He could not, even after becoming a Christian, approve the obstinate and intolerant behaviour of some of the missionaries. Only to silence them he had said, "changing one's religion does not mean changing one's country". Yet he was not an simulated Christian. His poetry was Indian in content and expression. He did follow the style of medieval Maharashtra saints. Even his Christian devotional verses do also hold a big Belgium mirror for his Indian heart. This man of strong conviction was known for his soft expressions. He was not an iconoclast like *Keshavasut*, but a man fond of simple beauties of house and religion. He was a born optimist. His expression - The lovely stars are born of darkness - prove his mind. His poems of social protest like *Rana Singa* (*The Battle Horn*) are devoid of militancy. Critic M.V. *Rajadhyaksha* feelingly writes: He wrote lovingly of nature - a new trend and his diction and imagery have the savour of rural life. (*Indian Literature*, MC - Millan publication. Vol.I P.398). Rev *Narayana Vaman Tilak* has been fondly described and remembered as a poet of flowers and children. His collection of poems - *Ranasinga* (*The Battle Horns*)

*Bomba Bomb (Loud Shouting) Kolahal - Moun - Gan. (Uproar - Silence-Song)* are much sought after books by the lovers of poetry.

Rev. Tilak had plans to bring out a book on Christ on the lines of *Ramayana*. He had christened it as *Christayan*. He could not complete it. He has composed lengthy poems like *Banbasi Phool*, *Shrishticha Bhava Beej*, *Yasi Bharya Susheela* & *Bapache Ashru*. About the last mentioned poem Sri. A.R. Arsalkar has this to say: Rev. Narayana Vaman Tilak was the first Major Poet who gave a Philosophical base to the Marathi elegiac Poetry. His *Bapache Ashru* (Tears of Pether) was written in 1909 on the death of his son *Vidayanand Vaman* and the son of his friend *Sachhidananda Sathe*. (*Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature* Vol.IV P.1154). Praising Tilak and his poetry Prof R.N. Ghatole writes: Though he was a Christian by his faith his love for Maharashtra, India and Marathi was above suspicion. His personality gets reflected in his poems. (Marathi Vang mayacha lthihas from 1840 till date. Shri Mangesh Prakashan, Shri Shanta Durga Nivas, 23, New Ramdaspet, Nagpur -10. Second Edition 1992. P.43)

Muley Baba Padmanji is considered to be father of Auto-biographical writings in Marathi. His *Arunodaya* (1884) is considered to be the first book of its kind in Marathi. Prof. R.N. Ghatole observes that through *Baba Padmanji's* autobiography one can understand the social history of the then period (Ibid. P.141). Though men have written their own life history, it is women who have enriched this field. It started with *Ramabai Ranade*. A revolutionary tend setting biography appeared in 1934-35. It was written by smt *Laxmi bai Tilak* the wife of Rev. Narayana Vaman Tilak. Critics are of the opinion that Smt *Laxmibai Tilak's Smritichitre (Portraits from Memory)* is one among the best biographical writings in Marathi. Smt *Laxmibai* was an unlettered woman. She learnt reading and writing Marathi after her marriage to Rev. N.V. Tilak. Being intelligent woman she could grasp quickly. By recalling so many personal and intimate things, she has made her writing an interesting one. While depicting her experiences she has taken a neutral stand. This six hundred page book is in two parts. Mr. Vasant Shirwedkar paying glowing Tributes to Smt *Laxmi Bai Tilak* Says". Ultimately (after struggling with her inner heart) her love for

*Tilak* triumphed and she joined him accepting his faith as her faith. *Laxmibai* narrates the story with perfect candour a delicacy of feeling and unmistakable & Sens of humour (Indian Literature Vol.II P.1008). Even to this day it remains as a classic.

Travelogue is the new limb of literature. Good transport facilities have encouraged people to visit or go places. Having visited people who have flair for writing have been recording their impressions. Among Maharashtrian who have recorded their impressions educatively *Pandith Ramabai's* name comes first. She was a Konkanastha Brahmin by birth. About her the contemporary high caste Marathi Society of Poona, never had very good opinion. *Rama Bai Ranade* the wife of Justice *Mahadev Govind Ranade* in her book *Ranade* (His wife's *Remini Scences*) has recorded others opinion in these lines: She is a wretched convert. Her father had turned her in to a devotee and wedded her to the devotee and wedded her to the heavenly bridegroom *shri Dwarakanatha*. And yet this wretch married a Bengali Baboo and polluted herself. "(publications Division Second reprint December 1969, P.82). This was one side of this great social reformer cum educationist. She was scholar of Sanskrit and Marathi. she found a school for destitute women, particularly young widows. Her first student was *Godu Bai* (*Anandi Bai Karve* Second wife of *Dhondur Kesav Karve*. *Panditha Rama Bai* was five days younger to *Dhondur Kesav Karve*. She was born on 13.4.1858 and breathed her last on 5.4.1922. She worked as Professor at Chettenham college and was there for two years (1884 to 1886). (*Encyclopaedia Indica*. Vol.II Jagadish Sarma Schand & Co Ltd. Second Edition (1981 P.1021). *Maharshi Karve* in his letter to Mrs J.W. Andrews, President Ramabai Association, Bostar, USA (on Feb2, 1894) wrote thus: *Panditha Rama Bai* was already described in Pathetic and eloquent terms the condition of our high caste widows in her book. "The High Caste Hindu Woman" and I will only add this here that but for the Sharada Sadan my wife's lot would have been the same as that of her more unhappy sisters. (*Dhondur Kesav Karve*, G.L. Chandravarkar, Publications Division, April 1970, P.74). *Panditha Rama Bai's* first book an travelogue appeared in 1883. It was titled as *Englandcha Pravas* (Travel to England). This was followed by *Americacha Pravas* (1886). *Achyut Kesav Bhagavat* writes: Running through her picturesque and beautiful narration there is

an under current of social and religious reform and there is an irrelevant apologia for her embracing christianity. (Indian literature Vol.II 904). *Panditha Ramabai* was infact an embodiment of Indian mother. Even *Panditha Rama Bai* has translated the Gospel from the original Hebrew and Greek.

The other Christians who have contributed to Marathi Language and literature are *Grant Duff* (1825). He had written *History of Marattas* in English

Mr. *Ferar* has written for children. *Henry Arbuthnot Ackworth* along with *Shaligram* has collected Marathi Ballads. He has published them in the Years 1891 & 1894.

*Winternitz* and *Weber* have traced migratory versions of Marathi Folk Tales. There are few authors, though not christians in the strict sense of the term have respect for christianity. They have contributed much to the Marathi Language and literature. They are *Gopala Hari Deshmukh Loke Hita Vedi* (Journalist and Essayist), *K.V. Ketkar* (The first Encyclopaedist in Marathi 1884-1937), *Parvathibai Attole* (Auto Biographer), *D.K. Karve* (Reformier, educationist and biographer) and his wife *Anandi Bai Karve* (Biographer), *Anandi Bai Joshi* (First Indian Woman to get M.D. Degree from America) Her letters are Very famous.

Language and literature can be compared to a river. A River will always be flowing. Only thing is water keeps changing. Like changing water even christians also have contributed to the growth of Marathi Language and Literature. Like water which looses its identity and becomes water of that particular river, even writes loose their identity as Hindu writers or Christian writers. They will be remembered as contributors for the growth of one particular language and literature. Loosing smaller identity and getting bigger identity can be termed as life. Marathi is full of life.

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# CHRISTIANS AND ORIYA

Siniruddha Dash

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The study of the rise and progress of modern Oriya language and literature cannot otherwise be completed without making reference to the valuable contributions made by the Christian Missionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century. The present status Oriya Language has gained at the National level and its individuality that distinguishes it from other Indian languages are the result of their selfless services done to its people in general and the language in particular. It is their tireless effort in learning, writing and publishing works on Oriya language and literature that helped the great Linguists like *G.A.Grierson* and *Sir John Beams* to describe it in clear terms and place it not only as an independent but also an ancient language.

About the antiquity of the language Sir Grierson (1963) says:

"The earliest example of the language which is at present known consists of some Oriya words in an inscription of the King Narasimha Deva II dated 1296 A.D. An inscription of *Narasimha Deva* IV dated 1395 A.D. contains several Oriya sentences which show that the language was fully developed and was little different from the modern form either in spelling or in grammar". (L.S.I.<sup>1</sup> Vol.V pt.II p 367)

As a distinct language he remarks that:

"It has one great advantage over Bengali in the fact that as a rule it is pronounced as it is spelt. There are few of those slurred consonants and broken vowels which makes Bengali, so difficult to

the foreigner. Each letter in each word is clearly sounded and it has been well described as comprehensive and poetical with a pleasant sounding and musical intonation, and by no means difficult to acquire and master". (Ibid. Vol., V.pt. II.p.368).

About the individuality of the language *Sir John Beams* (1872)<sup>2</sup> observes:

"Looked at from the purely Linguistic side, there is no doubt that Oriya has ample proof of its individuality. It retains unchanged forms, which are older than the oldest Bengali or Hindi and others which can only be compared with the Bengali forms of three centuries ago, but which long since have out of that language" (pp.118-19).

However, the role of the christians in upbringing the modern Oriya language and literature cannot be well judged unless a brief history is brought to the notice of the reader.

### **A Short History of Oriya Language and its People**

Oriya is the standard vernacular language of the people of modern Orissa. Though it belongs to the Indo-Germanic family of languages with Sanskrit as its main source, it possesses a rich vocabulary with many popular words from Dravidian and Austric or Mundari group of languages. In addition, its geographical condition has provided ample scope for the influence of other modern vernaculars like Bengali in the North, Hindi in the North west and Telugu and Tamil in the South. It has also adopted many words from Marathi during the Maratha rule in Orissa in 18th century.

The present name Oriya is the English version of the colloquial native word Odia and the name of the state Odisha. It owes its origin to the ancient people known as Odras or Udras supposed to be the dominant occupant of the land before the Aryanization could take place.

The name Udra is found to be attested in the *Bharatas Nityasastra* as well. Even now, a class of peasants named by Odas are found to be seen in the Khurdha district (earlier in Puri) of Orissa.

The history and culture of Orissa form an integral part of Indian history and culture. The simple living, high thinking and the peace loving people of Orissa, though had accepted cultivation as the main occupation, they had achieved the highest standard of excellence in the field of art, architecture and sculpture of which Konark-the sun temple of Orissa is the mute witness. Music and dance has equally surpassed many other forms of such arts available in our country. It has also played a greater role in the formulation and growth of metaphysical ideas and has been the centre for religious movements at different points of time with Lord *Jagannatha* as the sole presiding deity of the land. Their excellence in the martial arts can best be adjudged from their fierce fight in the historic Kalinga war, with the Maratha's during its rule in 18th century in Orissa and with the British Rule against the sunset laws. The civil war (known as *paika vidroha*) of 1917 is the last upsurge of the people against the misrule of the foreign conquerors and rulers.

In spite of continuous struggle for survival, the people had kept the literary tradition alive with much vigour and pride. The literature is enriched with devotional poems and folk-songs composed at different points of time. Among others, Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* (12th century A.D.) is a master piece of lyric-poem ever written in any language. It not only speaks of the simplicity and lucidity of the Sanskrit language but also expresses the volume of esthetic pleasure the people enjoy till today. All through the adversaries both Oriya language and literature have maintained their identity and individuality within the national fabrics of our multi-lingual and multi-cultural society. It has produced enormous amount of literary pieces composed by poets belonging to different strata of the then society. It is more democratic in its nature. The earliest literary piece of Oriya *Mahabharata* (15th century A.D) is composed by *Sri Sarala Dasa*, who belongs to a low-caste and later the metaphysical poems are also written by another notable low-caste blind poet *Bhimabhoi*. The middle period has been the period of king poet *Kavi Samrat Upendra Bhanja* whose master piece-*Vaidehisavilasa* is known for its peculiar style and rich vocabulary. Above all the devotional poems of a Muslim poet-*Salabega* still enchant the minds of Oriyas irrespective of age,



caste and creed. Thus it can be undoubtedly said that by the end of eighteenth century the language and literature of Oriya in particular had reached the height of a well developed and glorified stage.

However, the latter period, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, it faced a total humiliation and ill-treatment from the foreign agencies whose aim was to wipe out it from the map of the languages of India. There was a well motivated conspiracy of some British administrators and native Bengali officials in this regard.

It may be noted that before the British rule was established in 1803 in Orissa, the people were left in the lurch due to the constant attacks from the Marathas. They exploited the people and plundered their wealth making them penniless, which compelled them to start the civil war against the imposition of tax-laws by the British in 1817 A.D. As a result the relationship between the ruler and the ruled was very much constrained. Taking this opportunity, the administrators did not take the natives into the Govt. services. Mostly the neighbouring Bengalis were preferred in the place of Oriyas. The Bengali officials in turn being appointed as the guardian of law, took the advantage of the sun-set law and slowly purchased the lands at a low price from the poor natives and in a short period of time they became the Zamindars.

In the implementation of vernacular languages in the Govt. offices in 1837, the native Oriya language was opposed by these foreign administrators. It was first the Collector of Balasore District who wrote to the Commissioner Mr *Mills* requesting him not to implement the Oriyas language. Adding salt to the injuries of the poor Oryas, Mr *Mills* recommended for the implementation of Hindusthani instead of Oriya. Taking advantage of this, the then inspector of schools of western region, passed the order in 27th June 1847 to implement Bengali as the medium of teaching in schools. As a result, the collector of Cuttack Mr *Bowring* implemented the same in Kendrapara and Mahasimhapur vernacular schools. He even declared that Oriya is only a dialect of Bengali. This unfortunate statement of Mr *Bowring* was however, not convincing to the Commissioner Mr *Goldsbarry*. He took the views of the

educationists and accepted Oriya as a purified derivative of Sanskrit language. He also realised that if such a language dies or its letters are altered, it will bring disasters to the people of Orisa. He further was of the opinion that use of Bengali in place of Oriya will be most dangerous. If such a policy is implemented, then the people of Bengal will avail the opportunity of getting jobs in Orissa. The feelings of *Goldsbarry* was also shared by the collector of Puri Mr *Forbeas*. Both of them felt that Oriya should be the medium of learning for the Oriyas. They expressed this views in favour of developing Oriya language and literature. Taking this as a strong support a new era began forth with. Without caring for any consequence, the educated youth took strong but united steps. All their long suppressed wishes and desires got expressed in the new magazine named as *UtkalaDipika*. This was really a ray of hope for the people to come out of utter darkness. It brought a new lease of life with full of inspirations for all who were eagerly waiting for an opportunity. This was however, possible due to the strong support from the Cuttack printing company. With the turn of event, even *Utkal Dipika* lauded and supported the view of Mr *T.Revenshaw*, the then Commissioner, a few Bengali officials working in Orissa wanted to implement Bengali only instead of Oriya. They had won the support of the school inspector *Robert Serry* and the DPI of Bengal Govt. But the Commissioner Mr *Revenshaw* was firm in his opinion and strongly wrote to the Govt in support of Oriya. Siding with Mr *Revenshaw's* view the Govt. passed the order (1868 Nov.8) for the implementation of Oriya in all schools. Without paying any heed to the order, there was a continuous undeterred effort again on the part of some Bengali Teachers who were bent upon to derecognise the identity of Oriya language. A school teacher of Balasora school, *Kantichandra Bhattacharya* by name wrote a book derecognising Oriya as a language. His book '*Odia Swatantra bhasa nay*' (Oriya is not an independent language) was published in 1870 and sent to the Government. In addition, the school inspector who happened to be a Bengali immediately ordered for teaching of Sanskrit and Bengali in schools at Balasore.

Fortunately enough, the Collector of Balasore, Sir *John Beams* was well known as a great Linguist. Counter to the claim of Bengalis he wrote another book in English establishing Oriya as one of the

ancient languages of India and thereby suggested that it should be taught in all schools in Orissa. Both the Commissioner Rev. *T.Revenshaw* and *Sir John Beams* are fully responsible in restoring its prestige of Oriya language for which act of their greatness they will be ever remembered by the people of Orissa.

It would not have been possible for them to hold such a strong view without the help of a Christian missionary who had published by that time, especially Oriya grammar by *Sir A.Sutton* in 1831 which speaks of the individuality of Oriya language. The two noble administrators took the help of two great missionary pandits *Sir A.Sutton* and *Sir W.C.Lacey* who not only helped the Govt. to translate various laws but also took the responsibility of writing, publishing and supplying any number of text-books in Oriya in the best interests of the people of Orissa. It is an undoubted fact that Oriya as an independent national language would not have been recognised today without the hard labour and selfless services rendered by the great missionaries both at Serampore and Cuttack. The pioneering studies on Oriya language undertaken by the missionaries in the beginning of the 19th century reaped the fruitful result at the time of this crucial moment. The language which had possessed a rich and fabulous literature by the end of eighteenth century was suppressed by a few self-centered Govt. Officials. It is the publication and propagation of Oriya books by the missionaries that strengthened the morale of the people in general and language in particular.

Let us go into details of the works done by the missionaries in upbringing modern Oriya language and literature.

The entry of the Christian Missionaries into Orissa in 1822 is considered to be very timely and appropriate. It was not only good for them but also for Oriya language, literature, culture and its people in particular. Before the British rule was established in 1803 the backbone of the people was totally weakened by the repeated attacks from various conquerors. After the British rule also the foreign officials not only snatched the bread from the native Oriyas, they also hatched a conspiracy of abolishing the language also.

At this very critical juncture, the Missionaries entered Orissa like the real messengers of God. Though their aim was to propagate

the gospels of Christ, they were met with an uphill task of saving the needy and helpless Oriyas from sheer suppression and its language from total extinction. In addition to preaching Christianity, they first and foremost healed the wounds by extending social service to the landless and suffering people of the state. They not only took immediate steps in establishing orphanages etc., they also started schools in many places. The Missionaries could understand that to make their preachings easier they had to win the hearts of the people, and to win the same, learning of the native language was equally inevitable. The great missionaries achieved their goal very quickly. They not only helped the people but in return they got the full co-operation and sympathy from them. Though they could not convert many to Christianity, they could impress the people at large and won sympathy and good will in the hearts of the native people.

The missionaries before they entered Orissa had already started the work of printing the messages of Christ in Oriya both in prose and poetry form through messengers, and distributed among the people in festive gatherings. By and large the people had acquainted themselves with the Missionary activities in India. Immediately after entering into Orissa they thought of new plans such as establishing new schools and reforming the existing traditional system of education. They have played a major role in bringing in the modern education which had already spread and implemented in other states. The first school they started at Cuttack was in 1823. The books on Christianity were the main texts taught in this school. By and by, they had tried to remove the ignorance, depravity and profaneness of Oriyas through the advices of Christ. Then they opened another thirteen Missionary schools. Because of their random effort they were able to establish more and more schools and by 1830 some schools were to be seen in rural areas also. Besides the English Baptist Missionaries, the American Baptist Missionaries, Roman Catholic Missionaries, Spanish and German Catholic Missionaries also had come to Orissa to preach Christianity and established several schools in various parts of the state. In 1836 the Missionaries opened a new girls residential school with a view to educate the ladies also. It was first the Missionaries

who had tried to educate the tribals of Orissa also. They also opened a boarding school in 1840 for the santal (a king of tribes) children.

To undertake publication works on large scale they also established a printing press named as Orissa Missionary Press at Cuttack in 1838. They assisted both the Govt. and people by translating various tracts and rules for creating common understanding and awareness.

They translated many works of Holy scriptures into Oriya and Tribal languages as part of their propagation of Christianity. Apart from the religious works, they also published various works on Oriya language and literature. Above all, they took the full responsibility of writing and translating the text-books in Oriya. They also printed the same in their own press and made any number of books wanted by the Govt. They were very much instrumental and solely responsible, for implementing Oriya language teaching in schools of Orissa and there by saving the whole society and its culture from total degeneration. A list of different kinds of books published by the Missionaries is given at the end for information. The fore-runners of such a movement were *Rev. Revenshaw, Lacey, Mr Sutton* and others. It is known from the book-list of Mr *Pegs* that in 1832 the '*Oriya stotra pustaka*', the 2nd edition of the '*Easy reading lesson*', '*Oriya grammar*' (all of Mr *Sutton*) were printed again at the request of the Govt. Apart from that, other Oriya books like '*padarthavidya sara*' (on chemistry, printed by Calcutta Book Society), '*Bhugola*' (Geography with maps) and '*Dharmapustaka sara*' (gist of holy books) of Mr *Sutton* were also later accepted as text-books by the Govt. Apart from the text books they had also published many other works to impart true picture of knowledge and science. A few important books published during 1842-57 are given below:

- i) Introductory lesson (1843) by Mr *Sutton*.
- ii) Oriya Dictionary (1844) by Mr *Sutton*.
- iii) First English lesson (1844) by Mr *Sutton*.
- iv) Vernacular class-book Reader (1846) by Mr *Sutton*.
- v) Oriya Instructor (1846) by Mr *Sutton*.
- vi) Orissa Itihasa (1846) by Mr *Sutton*.

vii) Nitikatha (1852) by Mr Sutton.

**Other important works edited by Mr Sutton are:**

- i) Vatrisa Simhasana (1850)
- ii) Gitagovinda (1840)
- iii) Amarakosa (1845)
- iv) Odia Vyakarana of Pandit Visvambhara. (1841)
- v) Odia Ganitoc (on Mathematics) (1846)
- vi) Odia vyakarana by W.C. Lacey (1855)
- vii) Nitikatha (1855)
- viii) Hitopadesa (1855)
- ix) Odia Bhugola (or Geography) by J.Philips (1845).

Being inspired by the works done by the Missionaries, the then educated Oriyans also joined with the Missionaries in writing, and translating various works. To quote a few:

- i) Bhugola sutra (Trans) by Bichhanda Pattanaik 1867.
- ii) Kadambari (Trans) by Bichhanda Pattanaik 1868.
- iii) Bodhodaya written by Bichhanda Pattanaik 1868.
- iv) Gurupatha by Bichhanda Pattanaik 1868.
- v) Utkala bhasarthabhidhana. Ed, Miller and Raghunatha Misra.
- vi) Utkala vyakarana (in short) by Bichhanda Pattanaik 1869.
- vii) Sita vanavasa by Bichhanda Pattanaik 1869.
- viii) Bharatara Itihasa by Fakira Mohana 1869.
- ix) Ankamala (on Maths) by Bichhanda Pattanaik 1870.
- x) Bhugolatattva by Gaurisankara 1870.
- xi) Padya sangraha by Prabhakara Vidyaratna 1870.
- xii) Vyakarana Kaumudi by Govinda Chandra Pattanaik 1870.

The publication of such books led to the beginning of a new era and emergence of modern Oriya literature with its literary savants, among whom Kavibara Radhanatha Roy, Vyasakavi Fakira Mohana, Madhusudana Rao, Govinda Ratha and

Kapileswar Vidyabhusana are prominent and whose books were introduced in schools.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the modern Oriya prose literature was greatly influenced by the translation works carried out by the Christian missionaries. The style of expression and the simplicity of the language mark the difference between the middle and the modern Oriya prose writings.

Before we end this, let us look at some important translation works other than *Holy Bible* and Oriya-text books published by the Missionaries.

1. Hibru Kavitamala, Trans. by R.J. Cary, 1814.
2. The jewel mine of Salvation, Trans. by Mr Lacey and Mr Sutton, 1827.
3. Das'a ajna (Ten Commandments), Trans. by Mr Lacey and Mr Sutton, 1827.
4. Gitagovinda, Trans. by Dharanidhara, 1840.
5. Vatrish'a Simhasana, Trans. by Ganika Mishra, 1840.
6. Hitopadesa, Trans. by W.C.Lacey (for Bengali), 1855.
7. Phulamani O Karuna Trans. by Stubbins.
8. Bhayanakagrama (The dangerous village) Trans. by Miss L. Crawford, 1877.
9. Dharmapradipaka - (The lamp of righteousness), A Selection for Bibles, 1870.
10. Swarga Yatrira Vrttanta (The Pilgrims Progress), Trans. by Sham Sahoo.
11. Dharma Yuddha (Holy War) Trans. by W.C. Lacey.
12. Pakala amba (ripe mango) Trans. by Rev. W. Miller, Cuttack, 1874.

#### **Some of the important Acts and Rules translated:**

1. Akbari vidhana (Excise rules) by W.C.Lacey, Cuttack, 1867.
2. Act VII of 1864. New Salt Act and Rules by W.C.Lacey, 1865.
3. Act VI of 1868 (Bengal). The better regulation of the Police Act, Cuttack, 1869.

4. Act XVIII of 1869. The General Stamp Act by W.C.Lacey, Cuttack, 1870.
5. Bengal Police Circular Order No.914 of 1870 by A.H.Peterson, Cuttack.
6. Rules for the Municipal Police of the Town Cuttack, by W.C.Lacey, 1868.
7. Satya Asraya (Christian Tract), Cuttack, 1869.
8. Vivaha niyamapatra (Marriage forms under Act V of 1852) by Rev. J. Buckley, Cuttack, 1870.
9. The Acts of the Apostles, Cuttack, 1870.

#### **Some important Tracts on Christ and Jagannath:**

1. Yisukhrista and Krsnanka Tulana (A Comparison between Jesus Christ and Sri Krsna) by Mukunda Dasa, 1870.
2. Yisura Katiki asa (Come near the Jesus) by Rev. Stubbins, 5th edition, Cuttack, 1868.
3. Khristankara Divya upadesa (Divine advice of Christ) by Kartik Samal, 5th edition, Cuttack, 1871.
4. Khristanka ascharya Kriya (Miracle Acts of Christ) by Shiva sahu, Cuttack, 1868.
5. Keun Sastra Isvaranka Datta (which scripture is given by God) by Rev. A.Sutton, 7th edition, Cuttack, 1870.
6. Jagannath Pariksa (in verse) - A Christian Tract by Mukunda Das, Cuttack, 1867.
7. Isvara hin atma (God is soul) by Rev. Lacey and J.Stubbins 6th edition 1870.
8. Jagannath tirtha yatramahatmya, cuttack mission Press 1838.
9. Jagannatha upasanara nirbuddhita, Serampore Mission Press.
10. Serampurre rathatana band, Serampore Mission Press.

#### **Magazines**

1. Jnanaruna - 1849 ed. by W.C.Lacey.
2. Prabodha Candrika, 1856 by W.C.Lacey.



3. Arunodaya, 1861.
4. Taraka, 1883.
5. Prabhatitara, 1906 ed. by Wilkins.
6. Prabhat, 1933 ed. by Mrs Sarat Kumari Santra.

The present paper is based on the data analysed mostly by Dr Sitaram Mohapatra in his book (in Oriya) . *Contribution of Christians to Oriya language and literature*, published by Utkal Khristiya Sahitya Board, Cuttack, 1988. I am also thankful to Dr.Bhagaban Panda, Editor and Assistant Director I/C, Directorate of Culture, Government of Orissa, for making this book and other data available within a short period of time.

### NOTES

1. L.S.I., Linguistic Survey of India
2. *Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan Languages*, Vol.I (1872) -by John Beams. (Preface)

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# CHRISTIANS AND PUNJABI

Madhu Dhawan

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## Introduction

Punjab, a state in the Indian Union is situated in North West India. It is bounded on the North by Jammu and Kashmir, on the east by Himachal Pradesh, on the South by Haryana and Rajasthan, and on the west by Pakistan.

The word Punjab is a compound of two Persian words *Panj* (five) and *ab* (water). The name is derived from '*Panch Nada*' (five rivers) and refers to the Sutlej, the Jhelum, the channels the Ravi and the Beas, all of which flow through the region and are tributaries of the Indus. The first known use of it occurs in the writings of the Muslim traveller *Ibu Battutah* (q.v) who visited India in the 14th century. The name Punjab subsequently came to be used for the land through which these rivers flow. After the partition of India in 1947 only two rivers, the Sutlej and the Beas flow within its territory.

The foundation of the present Punjab may be said to have been laid by *Banda Singh Bahadur*, a hermit who became a military leader and who, with his fighting band of Sikhs, temporarily liberated the eastern part of the province from Mughal rule in 1709-10. Banda Singh's defeat and execution in 1716 were followed by a long drawn-out struggle between the Sikh on one side and the Mughals and Afghans on the other. In 1764-65 the Sikh established their sway in the region. *Ranjit Singh* (1780-1839) built up the Punjab into a powerful kingdom and attached to it the provinces of Multan Kashmir and Peshawar. In 1849 the Punjab fell to the troops

of the British East India Company and came under British rule. When Independence was achieved in 1947, the Punjab was split between the new sovereign states of India and Pakistan, the smaller, Eastern part becoming part of India. Since Independence, the history of the Indian sector of the Punjab has been dominated by Sikh agitation for a Punjabi speaking state, first led by *Master Tara Singh* and later by his political successor, *Sant Fateh Singh*. In November 1956 the Punjab was enlarged by the merger with it, of Patiala the east Punjab states union, which was formed by the amalgamation of the princely territories of Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Kalsia, Malerkotla and Natagarh. Political and administrative leadership to the new Punjab was provided by *Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon*, Congress Chief Minister of the state from 1956 to 1964. Demands for the formation of a new state by the consolidation of the Punjabi-speaking areas and the elimination of the Hindi-speaking portions were eventually agreed to by the Government of India. On November 1st 1966 the state of Punjab was divided on the basis of language into two new states of Punjab and Haryana (Hindi speaking).

The capital is located in the new city of Chandigarh in the foot hills of the Himalayas, a city especially planned and constructed for the purpose following partitions. It has bicameral legislature consisting of an upper house, called the legislature council with forty seats, and a lower house termed the legislative Assembly with 154 seats. The Governor is appointed by the President of the Republic.

### Punjabi Language

Modern Indo-Aryan language is derived from Vedic Prakrit which was modified into '*Apabhramsa*' has hardly any admixture of sanskrit. A ballad of 7th Century A.D., Gundhya's prose work *Vadda Kaha*, of 8th century are the earliest known extant literary forum. Early literature going back to 9th and 10th centuries, was intended by its writers to reach the common people of the region.

After the advent of Islam there were Muslim theologians and poets like '*Masud*' (1173) a court poet, '*Amir Khusran*' and '*Farid*'. Actual beginnings of Punjabi (Gurmukhi) started with *Nanak* (1538), founder of Sikh religion, who used different forms of prose

and verse in local speech and dialects with words of Sanskrit and Persian as well, a language emerging from *Saurseni*, Apabhramsa about 1330.

Literature flourished in the Punjab, where the multilingual situation was even more complex. Punjab's contact with the Islamic culture has been long and intimate. Bagdad, having been made the capital in 757 A.D. by 'Caliph Almaunsur', left a profound influence on Sikhism in due course of time. This is the main reason why the major religion of Punjab and Islam share common beliefs such as oneness of God and equality and brotherhood of man. Religions are closely connected. Persian became the official language of Punjab, in 1003 A.D. under the orders of Prince 'Mohammed Azmudin'. Persian was the language in Punjab for many centuries. The court language of 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh', was not Punjabi, but Persian, and Punjabi Sikh Scholars used to write in 'Braj Bhasha' in Gurmukhi script. (Which was a prestigious literary dialect all over north India). The Punjabi language was not even taught in the schools. Urdu, Persian were taught in the schools. The practice of writing in Gurmukhi started with *Bhai Gurdas* and 'Guru Arjan Dev'.

The Sikh literary tradition was not confined to Punjabi alone. Mainly they used to write in Urdu and 'Braj Bhasha'. The religious tradition identified with Sikhism made 'Braj' its main vehicle for several centuries. In the words of Professor Attar Singh - even during the Sikh regime in Punjab (1799-1849), the Sikh literary experience broadly confined to Theology, Metaphysics, Exegesis, Hagiography, Hystriography etc. found in 'Braj Bhasha' which is a mere congenial literary medium. But for some exception here or there which proves the rule, the Sikh authors showed practically no interest in composing their verse in Punjabi or adopting secular themes and concerns for their literary pursuits.

In the 19th century there was no appreciable development of Punjabi literature. The official language was Persian. Foreign languages such as Urdu, Persian and English were commonly used by the educated and the intellectuals in the Punjabi. After the fall of a Sikh Empire, and more with the growth of reform movements within the Sikh community a new awareness of the role of Punjabi

language may be seen. The result was a slow transformation of a Sanskritic-Persian literary tradition into a '*Sikh-Punjabi*' tradition.

### Christianity in Punjab

The Britishers left India and India became a Sovereign Republic in 1947. "Indianise the Indian Christians or Indian Christianity" is the loud cry one now hears in many a circle. As in the case of other modern Indian languages, the flowering of Modern Punjabi Literary prose too was accelerated by the impact of the west on Punjabi culture. Religion was the major motivating force behind the emergence of early Punjabi prose. The first influence on Punjabi came through the religious propaganda of the Christian Missionaries. The American Presbyterian Mission, established their branch at Ludhiana in 1834. After the death of *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* in 1839, there was chaos in the Punjab with no strong commander to lead it. The British Annexed the Punjab in 1849. British rule became firm in the state. The British started schools and colleges. They set up an Education Department in 1860 and founded Oriental College in Lahore in 1864. Western thought came to Punjab and thereby developed a new kind of awareness.

A flood of Christian Missionaries moved into the province. The American Presbyterian Mission opened Christian Colleges at Lahore (1864), Rawalpindi (1883), and Sialkot (1890). Under the influence of Christian thought the Punjab Government started many schools and a Government College at Lahore in (1864), Mohindra College of Patiala (1875) and Punjab University in 1882.

The Christian Missionaries established six centres in the border areas of the Punjab at Kotgarh, Kangar, Banor, Dera Ismail Khan, Multan and Khanpur and five centres in Central Punjab, at Batala, Narowal, Klarkabad Taran Taran and Pind Dadan Khan. Their biggest centre was Ludhiana. Young Men's Christian Association's (YMCA) (World's largest Voluntary Fellowship of Young Men) objective is fulfilling of Christian obligation of service to people irrespective of religion, caste, race or nationality. It was founded in London by *George Williams* (1844) draper's assistant who gathered around him a group of colleagues for prayer with Bible reading and improvement of spritual life through building a Christian character, they also became concerned with arranging a

place for working men where they could occupy themselves in healthy constructive ways in their free time. Branches were opened in Europe, U.S.A., and Canada. In India YMCA was established at Calcutta (1854). Dr. A. A. Somervills started associations at Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore. They were restricted to Protestant Christians and mainly to Europeans and Anglo Indians. In 1891 service was extended to Non-Christian Communities also.

### Contribution of Printing Press

Punjab has been the gateway to India from the North-West for so many centuries. Many invaders entered Indian territory through the highway. Indian religion had succeeded in absorbing the Greek and Central Asian Invaders, but Christianity which arrived along with Syrians who were driven from their homeland was able not only to maintain its separate identity but even to secure converts although it could never transcend its regional character.

In 1834, when *Lowrie* took charge of the Mission school at Ludhiana he felt the need for establishment of a printing press. *Newton* and *Wilson* brought a wooden printing press from Calcutta which was the first press in Punjab. For the publication of the Punjabi translation of Bible the type of Gurumukhi script was prepared for the first time. The Ludhiana Christian Mission was the first to set up its own Gurmukhi printing press and it became a main attraction of literary activity in the Punjabi language. It published a Punjabi Grammar in 1838. In 1841 Rev. J. Newton was entrusted with the task of writing a Punjabi dictionary, which was published in 1854. The Mission was the first to start the publication of Punjabi Journal, *Nur-I-Afsan* (1872). It also published religious chapters in Gurumukhi, such as '*Do-Patris*' and '*Chaupatris*'; Bible and other religious books were translated in to Punjabi and published. To reach the common man, the Missionaries wrote in simple and clear language. The motivation was the propagation of the Christian way of life. The mission circulated Punjabi version of Bible among the Non-Christians. As a result several low caste Hindu, Muslim and Sikh families were converted to Christianity. Other religious missions considered the establishment of their own printing press. Newspapers, weeklies and monthlies were started.

In drama Mrs. *Morah Richard* (wife of an English teacher) *P.E. Richarue* at Dyal Sugh College, Lahore lent a helping hand with a new slogan: Punjabi plays by *Punjabi Authors, about Punjabi life for Punjabi people*. She held one act play competitions at Lahore and I.C. Nanda is a product of such competitions well-versed with the traditions of Irish Theater Movement. She inspired Nanda to write stage-oriented plays. Nanda even adapted Shakespeare's play, *The Merchant of Venice* into Punjabi under the title of *Shamu Shah*. Being himself a teacher of English literature he taught English dramatists to his students and accepted their influence in modelling his plays. He is the first modern play wright who brought Punjabi drama out of the traditional Mythological groove.

*Sant Singh Sekhon* a professor applied Henrik Ibsen's technique to his early one-act plays. In addition to Ibsen, Sekhon was influenced by Bernard Shaw.

*Harcharan Singh* and *Bakwant Gargi* have a progressive bent of mind and have written plays under the influence of Marxian Ideology. In addition, some impact of Shakespeare, Ibsen and Gorky may be seen in his plays. This resulted in the growth of several reform movements in the Punjab. Arya Samaj, Namdhori and Singh Shabha were some of the movements which aroused the opposition to Christian Missionary Activity.

These revivalist movements became the major motivating force for the development of Punjabi prose. *Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid* (1881-1936) who wrote few tracts in the prose traditions of 'Singh Sabha', lent a social and secular bias to Punjabi prose. He started his own publishing house 'Svadesh Bhasha Prachar Lari' and his own magazine, '*Dukh Nivaran*' in 1906. He consciously tried to assimilate the competence of Bacon, the 16th century English essayist, by translating his essays into Punjabi and publishing them under the title '*Bekan Viesar Ratnavalla*'. Thus he introduced a new form of essay writing. Early in the 20th century certain incidents took place which were responsible for giving a new perspective to the Punjabi creating a political consciousness in the average Punjabi. Such politically conscious papers as '*Sahid*' and '*Panth Sevak*' were to follow.

Apart from this Journalistic tradition, there has been developments in modern times, a tradition of general prose-writing in book form. *Sharda Ram Phillauri* (1807-81). Phillauri wrote text books for the use of British Officers learning Punjabi. 'Phillauri' was a Scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and Punjabi. He wrote two original books in Punjabi '*Sikhan de Raj Vi Vithia*' and '*Punjabi bat-chit*'. Both these books had the specific aim of introducing the customs and conventions of Punjabi life and the history of the Sikhs to foreigners.

Three significant writers *Puran Singh*, *Gurbux Singh Preetlari* and *Principal Teja Singh* are the three writers who are under the impact of English authors.

Puran Singh produced a collection of literary essays namely '*Khule Lekh*', two translation of the works of Carlyle and Tolstoy, titled on '*Heroes and Hero Worship*' and resurrection respectively. Gurbux Singh (Preetlari) (1895-1978) the most popular writer in Punjabi was educated in America. He returned to India with a great longing to preach new ideas to his countrymen. He started a magazine *Preet Lari*. This magazine proved to be one of the most significant events in the history of Punjabi Prose. 'Preetlari' was deeply influenced by western writers like Ruskin, Carlyle and Emerson.

*Teja Singh* (1884-1978) was a teacher of English literature in Khalsa College, Amritsar. He introduced English tradition in the Punjabi essay. He modified the old Sakhi style and converted it into the essay genere of the English tradition. *Harindar Singh Roop* (1907-54) inspired by Teja Singh and influenced by western essayists, wrote several essays in light prose. *Gurbachan singh Talib* has also written several essays in which may be found the cultured wit and sensitive style of English Romantic tradition. *Lal Singh* introduced 'travel literature' to Punjabi readers: '*Mera Valati Safar Nama*' an account of his travels in Europe. In this field Hardit Singh Dhillon's '*Amrika Da Chakkar*' (Around America) Sher Singh's '*Prades Yatra*', Narinderpal Singh's '*Des Prades Vich*' and Rus Yatra etc. are noteworthy. New life styles were introduced through these books.

Punjabi verse forms also underwent a significant change. The poets started new patterns of expression, new metres, new



images, and new themes. The English romantic poets Wordsworth and Coleridge were a major influence on Punjabi poets. *Bhai Vir Singh's* works, his religious epics, lyrics and nature-poetry all show signs of western influence. *Mulk Raj Anand* calls Vir Singh the 'Colossus of Modern Punjabi literature'. Vir Singh dominated Punjabi literature for about half a century. *Kirpa Sagar* (1875-1939) was influenced by English authors' style. His epic '*Lakshmi Devi*' (1915) was based on Walter Scott's '*The lady of the lake*'.

Very remarkable contribution to Punjabi poetry has been made by some poets who have been living abroad. They have published many volumes of poems which may live as daring experiments in the field of Punjabi poetry.

Punjabi opera theatrical scene is distinctly divided in two main streams: the psychological and emotional dramas of prose with contemporary sensibility and staging techniques, and the operas using folk-tunes, folk-songs, folk-Myths, rituals and legends with a new sensibility.

### Journalism

Punjabi Journalism is hardly 100 years old. At the early stages many Punjabi journals ceased. Post Independence new literary forms were observed from the west. Short story, literary critics, novel fiction feature etc. were adopted by Punjabi journalists with great success.

### Translation

Christian Contributions were great in translating Punjabi literature into English. Translation was done by many Christian writers. Following works are noteworthy:

Trevaskis, M.K., *The land of the five rivers* (Oxford 1928)

Darling, M.L., *Wisdom and Waste in a Punjab village* (New York 1934)

Calvert. M., *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*. Lahore 1936.

Ata Ullah., *The Co-operative Movement in the Punjab* (London 1947)

Darling M.L., *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (London 1947)

*Lewis Sahib* by Guru Bachhen Singh (Published)

### General works

General works on the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the undivided British province of the Punjab include:

Trevaskis H.K., *The land of the five rivers* (Oxford 1928)

*Sadhu Sunder Singh Call of God* by Rebecca Parker

*Sadhu Sunder Singh in Switzerland* by Alys Goodwin

*Sadhu Sunder Singh the lover of the Cross* by T. Dayanandan Francis

*Sadhu Sunder Singh* edited by T. Dayanandan Francis (CLS) 1989

Radha Swami Satsong Vyas '*Anmol Khazane*'

Maharaj Charan Singh Dr. Smith and Disiple - Lwis Hilger.

### Cultural life and Tradition

The day to day life style was influenced by the Christians. For example, eating habits, using of tables and chairs crockeries, Forks, Spoons etc. Folklore, ballads of love and war, fairs and festivals such as Dusserha, Diwali, Baisaki and in the anniversary in honour of gurus and saints were the main media for conveying messages to the masses. '*The Bhangra*', '*Jhumar*' and '*Sammi*' were the popular performances. '*Giddha*' is a woman's hilarious song dance which was most popular. Christianity though influenced in the day to day's life of the Sikhs, it could not interfere and change the folklore activities of the Punjabies from their originality.

Proto-realism remained the stance of realistic literature in Punjabi till the end of the nineteenth century. From the begining of the twentieth century, it gave place to social realism. On account of the changes implemented under the direction of the British Government, the social terrain became more important than the natural terrain of life. Instead of bodily activities, the focus of social realism has been upon social relations the portrayal of which has been an important concern of all forms of literature in Punjabi in the first half of the twentieth century.

It was on an incipient note that social realism had its begining in the writings of *Bawa Budh Singh* and *Charan Singh Shahid*. Typical of this native form of social realism is *Chandra Hari*, a play by Bawa Budh Singh. In it is drawn a vivid portrayal of the indiscretions resulting from the excessive authority the government officials have come to exercise, and the misalliances to which educated

middle class young men are subjected through marriage by parental choice. The responsibility for these indiscretions rests mainly with the persons concerned. Nowhere is this responsibility traced back to their class-character, class-consciousness and their role at a particular historical juncture. As a result, it is social realism all right, but of a native kind only.

Only in the progressive literature is there an effort made to involve class-character, class-consciousness and their symbiosis in life-like literary characters, their experiences, relations and values. The main stance of this literature is the contention that the power of human experiences, relations and values is determined by the economic, social and historical forces working in an immanent and latent manner. Naturally, the efficacy and significance of the feelings, emotions, ideas and thoughts in individuals are proportionate to their groundedness in class-character and class-consciousness. The *raison d'être* of this critical realism is Aristotle's ancient dictum that 'man is a social animal' which can be discerned as operative in the male and female speakers of the poems of *Mohan Singh* and *Amrita Pritam*, in the short stories of *Sant Singh Sekhon* and *Kulwant Singh Virak* and in the novels of *Surinder Singh Narula*, *Gurdial Singh* and *Narenderpal Singh*.

Critical realism, the central mode of creative writing in the thirties and the forties, became dormant during the fifties and the early sixties. The reasons for these contrary developments may be found in over-emphasis on the contradictions that, on account of the national war of freedom, were operative in the earlier decades and the under-emphasis on the contradictions under the Nehruite ideology, in the later decades. From the later part of the sixties, this critical realism has appeared with greater vigour and dynamism, evidences of which can readily be found in the short stories of *Prem Prakash*, and the poems of *Avtar Pash* and *Surjit Patar*. Along with historical realism, critical realism in these writers is fraught with the existential concerns of life.

Related to this critical realism is biological realism that has marked the contemporary writings of *Balwant Gargi*, *Ajit Kaur* and *Narinder Pal Singh*, as seen respectively in *Dhuni di agg* (Smouldering fire, 1969), *Phaltu Aurat* (Extra Woman, 1970) and *Ba*

*mulahza hoshiaar* (Attention, Cometh the King, 1974). In these writings the focus of delineation shifts to sex which becomes the sole measure of life, especially in its bio-psychopatic capacity. To emphasise this shift further, the incestuous and homosexual proportions of sex are brought into focus. Sceptical of history, this disposition hints towards the destiny of those classes or forces which have either lost faith in the efficacy of history or are being themselves deprived of historical efficacy. Critical realism offers hope, however, of containing these aberrations before they become destructive of national and indeed of human culture.

## Conclusion

The dawn of Christianity in India has left its impact not only on the spirituality of the people but on Indian Literature as well. In the wake of the arrival of the Christian Missionaries Punjabi literature has imbibed various aspects of Christianity, right from western trends in the execution of thought by the use of printing technology.

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## CHRISTIANS AND SANSKRIT

G. Prabha

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The language *Samskrta*, now written as Sanskrit is the language of Gods, *Giroanavani*. The foremost form of this language is the rituals of the Rig Veda which is considered to be the most ancient reminance of Indo-European school of thought. These rituals still revive and is recited without any loss of its pristine purity. Valmiki, Vyasa, Bhasa, Kalidasa etc. elevated this language to its perfection. The scholars of the present also contribute to the language though they may not be equal to the past masters of the language. During the course of its history, the language and its literature have been subjected to certain changes. One such change is caused as a result of the relationship that India had with European countries. Actually that relationship benefited Indians in two ways. It developed in the minds of the modern educated Indians an awareness of their own Indian Cultural heritage. Secondly the Western mode of life and thought influenced Indian Institutions and branches of knowledge which paved the way for reformation. Really Sanskrit language itself happened to be divided into two divisions. First was being instituted in English schools, colleges and Universities whereas the second was in old schools like Gurukulas where the old system of teaching was promoted by saints and Pandits.

European relationship might have influenced Sanskrit language and literature itself. As a result of this influence English had conquered the place of Sanskrit as a common language. English has become a medium for learning Sanskrit. Eventhough the

Christian missionaries from western countries had an intention to propagate their ideas, they had been compelled to study and teach Sanskrit language and India's heritage. For this, arrangements were made in Christian Seminaries to teach Sanskrit. Even a Sanskrit scholar was appointed from Trichur as Sanskrit teacher in the Seminary of Mannanam. The Seminary at Nagercoil which worked under the Mission Society of London had also taught Sanskrit along with English.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Sanskrit literature has been restricted to the study and research of Vedas and epics. And mostly the Christian missionaries and scholars had given more importance to these types of learning, teaching and research than contributing to creative Sanskrit literature.

### **Missionaries and other Scholars**

Though much original works on Sanskrit did not arise, the Christian missionaries and scholars had conducted research and translated Sanskrit works to other languages and vice versa. Of course, these contributions of Christian missionaries and scholars did a great deal in promoting and propagating Sanskrit not only in India but also in foreign countries.

In 1605 *Roberto De Nobili* (1577-1656) who conducted missionary work centered around Madurai, learned Sanskrit along with Tamil and Telugu. *Dr. Samuel Chandanappally* says that Nobili lived exactly like an Indian in his language, dress and demeanour to propagate Christian principles and sermons through the scholarly language Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup> Nobili is said to have composed a number of books in Sanskrit. But unfortunately they were all burnt due to the fire which had caught his hermitage. *Anand Amaladas* records that *Fr. Rajamanickam* in his book *The First Oriental Scholar* (1972) conjectures some of the works to be the work of De Nobili. They are *Srikhristu Gita*, *Christu Matha Grantha*, *Satya Veda Sara Sangraham*. But it is very difficult to affirm that they are the works of De Nobili; since we have only some references to his Sanskrit works in his letters, and what is available like the *Satya Veda Sara Sangraha* is attributed to other scholars like *Calmette*, and *Khristu Gita* is said to be the work of a Brahmin convert, based on the life of Christ by *Stuart Mill*. This text was also printed in Bengal.<sup>3</sup>

*Heinrich Roth* (1620-1668) compiled a Sanskrit German dictionary. This was the first Sanskrit dictionary to be published in Europe which comprised of seven volumes. Now it is available at the Biblioteca Nazionale at Rome.<sup>4</sup> *Roth* had written another grammar text in Latin and it is published in 1988 under the title *The Sanskrit Grammar and Manuscripts of Father Heinrich Roth, S.J.*<sup>5</sup>

In 1651 *Fr Abraham Rogar* had translated *Nitisatakam* and *Vairagyasatakam* of *Bhartrhari* in to Dutch. On the advice of the first Governor General of India, *Warren Hastings*, certain Sanskrit works on the rules and laws of the Hindus had been translated into English in 1776.<sup>6</sup>

*Charles Wilkisan* was the first among the western scholars who had presented Indian literature in Europe. He had resided at Varanasi as per the instruction of *Warren Hastings* and became a renowned scholar in Sanskrit. He had translated *Bhagavad Gita* in 1785 and *Hutopadesa* in 1786 into English.<sup>7</sup>

*John Ernestus Hanxleden*, who was popularly known as *Arnose Pathiri* (1689-1732) wrote a Malayalam Grammar after the fashion of *Sidharupam* in Sanskrit. He had composed two other dictionaries. *Dr. Albrecht Frenz* and *Dr. Scaria Zacharia* remark that 'Arnos as per secondary information available to-day, composed two other dictionaries also Sanskrit - Portuguese Dictionary and Malayalam - Sanskrit - Portugese Dictionary. But they are yet to be traced'.<sup>8</sup> *A. Mathias Mundadan* says that 'the best account so far known on Hanxleden's contribution to Sanskrit and Malayalam is perhaps that of *Paulinus*'.<sup>9</sup>

In 1732, *Fr. Gaston Coeurdoux* (1691-1777) came to India and worked in Andhra till 1738. *Anand Amaladas* records about *Fr. Gaston* that 'He was an industrious Sanskrit Scholar who was trying to establish the relationship of the Indo-European languages. Thus he was one of the pioneers of modern comparative philology. He noticed the extraordinary similarity of many Sanskrit words to Latin and Greek words'.<sup>10</sup> He had written the book *Memoir* in 1767, and it was published in 1808. Some of the manuscripts of *Fr. Gaston* had been published by others in their names.<sup>11</sup>

*Fr. Jean Calmette* (1693-1739) reached India in 1726 was a good collector of Sanskrit manuscripts and he composed slokas also. He

was the first European Scholar who succeeded to get possession of all the four vedas.<sup>12</sup> He translated Nobili's works into Sanskrit.

*Fr. Pons J Francis* (1698-1752) came to India in 1724. He had also given more effort for the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. He composed one Sanskrit Grammar text. *Fr. Pons* was an astronomer, a geographer, a canonist and a Sanskritist.

*Fr. Paulino De San Berthelomeo* otherwise called *Fr. Paulinus*, another missionary, introduced Indian languages like Sanskrit, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu to the Westerners. In 1776 he arrived at Varapuzha in Kerala and he rendered Sanskrit works in Latin.<sup>13</sup> His famous works are on the *Sidharupam* or Sanskrit Grammar (*Sidhrubam Seu Gramatica Sanscridamica* - 1790) Alphabet of the Languages in India (*Alphabeta Indica* - 1791), The clarification on the antiquity and the relationship of the languages - German, Sanskrit and Sind (*De Antiquitate et Affinitate Language - Zendicao, Sanscridamicae et Germanicae Dissertatio* 1799) Information regarding the Gypsies who belong to India and their language originated from Sanskrit (*Auzeigo dass die Zigeuner Indianer sind, Undihro Sprache ein Dialectist Welcher ausder samscrita Prache entstechet* - 1799), A deep study on Sanskrit grammar (*Vyakarana Sen ocupletissima ct cum Samscridamicae Linguae* - 1804), comprehensive study on Sanskrit alphabets (*Compendium Vaccabulari Grandhoniei* - 1776), Dictionary in Latin-Malayalam-Sanskrit (*Dictionarium Latino-Malabarico-Samscradamicum* - 1787), French translation of the alphabets of Sanskrit and Latin (*Traduction du Vocccabularie - Sanskrit Latin before 1788*), History of Sanskrit language - a short critical narration (*Dissertatinuncula Historico-Critica in Linguam Samascrademicam* - 1795). Most of these works are still in the manuscript form.

It was the founder of Asiatic Society *Sir William Johns* who gave wide popularity to Sanskrit literature in western countries in its real sense. He had also resided long in India and became well versed in Sanskrit. In 1789 William Johns published a translation of *Sakuntalam*. The German poet *Goethe* had praised *Sakuntalam* and *Kalidasa* after reading this translation of William Johns. It was William Johns who first printed and published *Rtusanhara* of Kalidasa. He had translated the *Manusmrti* also.<sup>14</sup>



*Henri Thomas Cole Brooke* was a great scholar who studied Sanskrit scientifically. He had made arrangements to learn Sanskrit language in the West. He edited *Amara Kosha* of Amara Sinha. K.C. Pillai says that it was Cole Brooke who first wrote a work on Vedic literature.<sup>15</sup>

Another Englishman *Alexander Hamilton* had also come to India and learned Sanskrit. While returning to England he had to undergo imprisonment in a French jail for a long period. During that period he taught Sanskrit to the German poet, *Frederic Von Schlegel*.

'*Frederic Von Schlegel*, besides availing himself of the oral teaching of *Alexander Hamilton*, benefitted chiefly by a manuscript of the then Imperial Library, No.283 of the printed catalogue, the author of which is an anonymous missionary. (Fr. Schlegel's *Saemmtliche Werke*, Edition of Vienne 1845, Vol. VIII, p. 274). It contained a short Sanskrit grammar, the *Amarakosa* of *Amarasinha* and the *Kaikalpadruma*'.<sup>16</sup>

In 1808 Schlegel published a book on Indian languages and knowledge and thereby created respect and attachment for Sanskrit among the German literary figures. After getting thorough knowledge in Sanskrit Grammar, the German Scholar *Fance Boppe*, had compared it to other languages and developed first a new branch of Phonetics in German.<sup>17</sup> Another German Scholar *Rozen* had published eight mandalas of the Rig Veda in Sanskrit. He selected Rig Veda from the manuscripts which were kept in the office of the East India company.<sup>18</sup> Yet another Sanskrit scholar *Rodolf-Roath* published a book on Vedic literature. As a result of the work done by Schlegel and Roath, a deep interest had been created throughout Germany for Sanskrit.

*John Muir* (1810-1882) who was a British Civil Servant came to Calcutta in 1829 and studied Sanskrit scientifically. He composed more than two original Sanskrit books. His first work is *Matha Pareeksha*, a discourse on religious thought published in 1839. Muir's another creative Sanskrit work *Christa Mahatmyam* which is the history of Christ also very popular in North India. These works of John Muir were translated into different languages like Bengali, Malayalam etc. In Malayalam *Dr. Hermann Gundert* undertook the

translation. Gundert gave a good compliment to Muir's style of Sanskrit when he compared him with Dr. Yates. This shows that Dr. Yates also contributed some creative works in Sanskrit.<sup>19</sup>

The book '*Srikhrsta Sangitam*' (history of Christ) by Dr. Mill also deserves special mention. Monier Williams writes on Muir's book: 'Dr. Mill, formerly Principal of Bishop's College at Calcutta, whose history of Christ in Sanskrit dialogue is still more acceptable to the natives of India, from its adaptation to their own system of teaching'.<sup>20</sup>

Dr. Hermann Gundert (1814-1893) who had given precious contributions to Malayalam also gained deep knowledge in Sanskrit. His opinion is that 'there is no use of learning Sanskrit from Bonn. It should be learned from the speech of the people. It is not a matter of difficult study. He also said that if anyone wishes to learn Sanskrit he should be advised to learn it from the mouth of the 'Guru' himself. That is the better way of learning Sanskrit than learning within the four walls of the classroom in Europe'.<sup>21</sup>

Dr. Gundert had advocated *Pancatantra* and *Mudraraksasa* to the students of Malayalam at the request of the then Public Director of Madras University, Mr. Arbuthnot.<sup>22</sup> This shows Gundert's affinity towards Sanskrit literature. He published the contents of the *Kerala Mahatmyam* in Madras Journal of Literature and Science, No.31, December, 1844 pp. 97-105. Gundert translated *Christa Mahatmyam* of John Muir from Sanskrit to Malayalam. Gundert wrote in a letter: 'The life of Jesus, written by Muir in Sanskrit verses (*Christa Mahatmyam*) has been, in agreement with the Thalasseri brothers, taken up by me for adaptation. I have so begun to work on it that it shortens the Sanskrit, gives a free translation into Malayalam and delivers the book in three treatises'. (Gundert letters, Marbach, 23.6.51).<sup>23</sup>

Alexander Baumgartner (1841-1910) was another great Sanskrit scholar who had written 'A history of world literature' in six volumes. He published '*The Ramayana and Indian Rama literature A sketch in literary history*' in 1894. It was reprinted in 1972. In this book he discusses the works of Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti and Bhatti.<sup>24</sup>

Joseph Dahlmann (1861-1930) the author of the famous book '*The Mahabharata as an epic and a law book*', took his doctorate in

Berlin. In this book he argued that the *Mahabharata* is the work of a single person and that law and poetry are inseparably connected in the *Mahabharata*. But this argument was strongly opposed by scholars like Winternitz, Jacobi, J. Jolly etc. His other famous works are: *Nirvana*, a study in the early history of Buddhism (1896), *Buddha*, a cultural Portrait of the orient (1899), *Ancient Indian Nationhood and its implication for social studies* (1899), *The idealism of Indian Philosophy of Religion* (1901), *Samkhya Philosophy as natural philosophy and philosophy of redemption* (1902).<sup>25</sup>

*Robert Zimmermann* (1874-1931) took his doctorate in Sanskrit from the Friedrich Wilhelms University, Berlin in 1913. He was the Head of the Sanskrit Department of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. He revised and translated Peterson's selection of Hymns from the Vedas, 1921.<sup>26</sup>

In famous universities of developed countries, Sanskrit language and literature find a place along with other subjects for regular study. Christian scholars like *Prof. Macdonell* of the Oxford University, *A.B. Keith* of Edin Borough, *Sylvian Levi* of France, *Prof. Winternitz* of Germany are greatly responsible for bringing out the real picture of Sanskrit literature to foreign countries. And also Christian scholars like *Maxmuller*, *William Collins*, *A. Weber*, *W.D Whitney*, *Issac Taylor*, *Jacobi*, *Monier Williams*, *Hopkins* etc., had contributed much to Sanskrit and these contributions are really praise worthy.

In 1907 *Sebastio Rodolfo Dalgado* who was employed as a professor in Sanskrit in the Lisbon University is reputed to have known more than 60 different languages.<sup>27</sup> He had travelled all over the world in connection with missionary activities. Apart from Sanskrit he had learned Simhala, Malay, Hindusthani, Bengali, Kannada and Tamil. Portuguese translation of the original Sanskrit text *Hitopadesa*, portugese translation of original Sanskrit book *Nala* and *Damayanthi*, Rudiments of Sanskrit for the use of the students at the university etc. are his valuable contributions to Sanskrit literature and language.

*Pierre Johannis* (1882-1955) studied in the Oxford University and completed his graduation there in Sanskrit. His serial in 'The

*Light of the East* entitled to Christ through the Vedanta attains great attention from the scholars. Anand Amaladass has given a detailed bibliography of Pierre's works.<sup>28</sup>

The author of the book 'An Essay on the Doctrine of the Unreality of the world in the Advaita' George Dandoy (1899-1962) also published a number of articles in 'The Light of the East' regarding Sanskrit. His another notable work is 'Karma, Evil, Punishment: A Summary of Desultory Conversations' (1940). He also presented a typescript thesis at the Oxford University on the Philosophy of Ramanuja as compared with that of Sankara.

Michael Ledrus (1899-1970) translated the first volume of Johanns 'To Christ through the Vedanta' into French. He studied Sanskrit and contributed for it. He came to Calcutta and established a journal, *The New Review*. He was the editor of the same journal from 1934 to 1938.<sup>29</sup>

Fr. Adolph Esteller (1899-1984) came to India in 1922 and worked in the Sanskrit department of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Fr. Adolph Esteller who took his doctorate from the Berlin University published a text-Critical edition of the Rigveda. He published number of articles on the problem of the 'faulty' verses of the Rigveda.

Pierre Fallon (1912-1985) had written seven chapters of the book 'Religious Hinduism' by Jesuit scholars. And the introduction of the same had also written by him.

Fr. Robert Antoine (1914-1981) who was the Sanskrit teacher of St. Xavier's College School in 1951 contributed more than five books and several articles regarding Sanskrit. His important works are: A Sanskrit Manual for High Schools (1953), Where We All Meet-A Dialogue (1957), Introduction to Upanishads (1965), Kalidasa's Raghvamsa - Translated into English (1972), Rama and the Bards - Epic Memory in the Ramayana (1975).

Julian Bayart (1905-1979) mastered the Sanskrit language and contributed several articles on indological subjects. He was more interested in Bhakti traditions.

Fr. Camille Bulcke (1909-1982) who belonged to the Jesuit Province of Ranchi was a well known Sanskrit Scholar. He

contributed a lot for Sanskrit language and literature like Dictionaries, Glossaries, Original texts and Translations. Anand Amaladas records that 'Sevartham Vd.8, 1983, pp.17-25 gives a classified bibliography of the works of Fr. Bulcke with 176 entries'.<sup>30</sup> And he listed some of his works also.

*Joaquin Perez-Remon* (1922-1985) came to India and took B.A. and M.A. in Sanskrit from the University of Madras. He specialised on 'Self and Non-self' in early Buddhism.

Anand Amaladas (p. 1943) in his article on 'Jesuits And Sanskrit Studies'<sup>31</sup> gives the bibliography of the present-day Jesuit Sanskritists. In it he mentions a number of present-day Jesuit Sanskritists' names and the titles of their printed works. (see appendix) Unfortunately they have not written original works in Sanskrit.

### The Bible and Sanskrit

There is no need to mention the influence of the Bible in the literature and languages of the world. The Bible has been translated to almost all languages. The Sanskrit version of the Bible came in the Year 1808. In this regard Dr. K.M.George records that "Tamil is the fortunate language to print and publish first certain parts of the Bible. After that in 1743, Urdu language attained that fortune. The Sanskrit version of the Bible partially came out in the first decade of the 19th century i.e. 1808.<sup>32</sup> After ten years i.e., in 1818 the complete version of the Bible was printed in Sanskrit.

Records relate that Sanskrit language and Sanskrit scholars were immensely helpful in translating the Bible into Malayalam. C.M.S. missionary *Dr.Claudius Buckanen* who came to Kerala in 1806 gave leadership in translating the Bible into Malayalam. After that *Dr.Benjamin Bailey* engaged himself in the translation of the Bible. *Dr.P.J.Thomas* comments on these translations, that translation in Sanskrit is accepted with respect to words and English with respect to sentences. If this translation has become a new light in prose literature, no wonder, it is because of its guidance from a learned scholar in English and the co-operation of Sanskrit learned Malayalees.<sup>33</sup>

P.K. Parameswaran Nair records that even centuries before translating the Bible, the Christian missionaries learned Sanskrit and widely collected Sanskrit books. He says that Jesuit Priests were excellent in printing and also their printing machine played a significant role. Round about 1580 Portugese missionaries installed printing machines in Vaippinfort and Cochin and printed religious books. Such publications paved the way for printing in Kerala. In 1563 the priests of Ampazhakkadu seminary showed great interest in native languages especially in Sanskrit and Tamil. They had collected many Sanskrit books from the Namboodris and earnestly learned the language.<sup>34</sup>

The author of *Kristubhagavatam*, Mahakavi P.C. Devassia says about the translations of the Bible from his memory as follows: "The Bible society of India and Ceylon centered at Bangalore had translated the New Testament into Sanskrit, long ago. About 150 years ago the Baptist missionaries of Calcutta translated the whole Bible into Sanskrit with the help of the natives and a copy of which was available at the Hill palace of Cochin till recently".

### Modern Writers

Along with the translations of the Bible, Grammar books and dictionary, Sanskrit language had also got other great works from modern Christian writers like I.C. Chacko, K.P. Urumese, Fr. John Kunnapalli, Prof. P.C. Devassia etc.

The contribution of I.C. Chacko to Sanskrit deserves a special mention. His '*Paniniya Pradyota*' is the detailed explanation of 'Panineeyam'. There may have no other book which explains Panineeyam more scientifically than this. The elegy "*Hakto mrto me sva*" by him consists of 24 slokas and is a valuable asset to Sanskrit literature since elegiac poems are a rarity in Sanskrit. *Christusahasranamam*, after the model of *Vishnusahasranamam* is yet another work of I.C. Chacko. In this book he tries to give thousand names to Christ though his attempts are not a total success.

Prof. K.P. Urumese had translated the Sermon on the mount into Sanskrit with the name *Girigita* and it is really a praise worthy, Kothanalloor Jeseph composed a number of Subhashitas (good-sayings) in Sanskrit and published them.

The book *Christubhagavatam* by Prof. P.C. Devassia turned out to be a famous *Mahakavya* and it deserves special attention. He has written this poem just as Fulton Austler wrote his book "the greatest story ever told" where he shortened and expanded sermons wherever seemed necessary. This great work includes 33 chapters which give the life-story and teachings of Christ. In this he has given as certain heart touching comparisons from the great epics of India. For instance, he compares Judas who deceived his own Master on receiving 30 silver coins with the Vedic character Ajigartha who sold his Sunasepha for hundred Cows.<sup>35</sup>

Dr. Kunjunni Raja comments on this book: The life of Christ has inspired some of the great master pieces in world literature. In India itself, where Christianity has had an honoured place from very ancient times, there has been some literary works on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. A few decades earlier a popular *Mahakavya* was written in Malayalam on the subject by Sri *Kattakayam Cheriyan Mappillai*. But the *Kristubhagavatam* of Prof. P.C. Devassia is the first comprehensive work produced in Sanskrit on the life of Jesus and Sanskrit can justly be proud of this achievement".<sup>36</sup>

No book in Sanskrit other than this gave too much importance to secularism. this work has scored nearly twelve awards and has already been translated into Marathi and English. In this connection the research work conducted by Sister Paslor is also worth mentioning.

*Janakeeya Gitam* and *Karshaka Geetham* are two other books of Prof. P.C. Devassia. *Janakeeya Gitam* is a satirical poem in Sanskrit. In this he has narrated certain historical events of Travancore during the reign of Diwan Sir. C P. Ramaswamy Iyer in a most interesting manner. *Karshakageetham* is the translation of "Karshakantepatte" by Mahakavi Vallathol Narayanamenon, one of the leading poets of Malayalam. More over he has written many slokas which are yet to be published.

*Prakriyabhashyam* by Fr. John Kunnappalli is also note worthy. Contents of this book are the explanation of the Panineeya sutras. He has written another book named *Sanskrit Dhaturupavali*.

Special importance should be given to the contributions by *Fr. Vattanki* to the branch of Logic and *Fr. Marcel's* prose work '*Sriyeshucharitam*'. *Fr. Mathew J Moollel, S.J.* has rendered *Sri Sankara's Bhaja Govindam* into English and Tamil and it is also a remarkable one.

Recently *Prof. K.G. Paulose* gave an excellent translation for the Sanskrit book *Natankusam* in which the traditional Sanskrit dramatic performance of Kerala-the Kudiyaattam-is mentioned.

Apart from these Christian scholars, many other scholars belonging to Christian religion attempted to heighten Sanskrit language and literature through their activities. Such as *Kuriakosemaster*, the disciple of the famous scholar Punnasseri Neelakanda Sarma, Thomas Katherar, Rev. George Mathan, Joseph Matron, Fr. Jerold, Nidheerikkal Manikathanar, Pandit T.P. Xavier, Fr. Joseph Parakkatil, Fr. Kattakkal, Fr. Agesthyar, Fr. Adapoor etc.

Christian priests and scholars learned and nourished Sanskrit language and literature in earlier days. That trend still continues. Thus the service of the Christians to Sanskrit language and literature is really great.

## Appendix

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11. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.
12. *Ibid.*, p.220.

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15. *Ibid.*, p.14
16. *Jesuits in India: In Historical Perspective*, p.219.
17. *Sanskruta Sahitya Charitram* (Malayalam) by K.C. Pillai, pp. 14-15
18. *Ibid.*, p 15
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22. *Ibid.*, p 137.
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24. Cf. *Jesuits in India In Historical Perspective*, p. 215.
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## CHRISTIANS AND TAMIL

S.V. Shanmugam

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### Introduction

The christianity is one of the major religions of the world but it is not native to India. Even though it was first originated in the West Asia, it came to India only through Europe. It is not clear when exactly the christianity was introduced in India in general and Tamilnadu in particular.

The availability of the Roman coins of the early christian era and the references about *Yavanar* 'Greeks and Romans' in the old Tamil literature imply that the Tamils of the Sangam age should have some contact with the Christianity. As a result, some loan words are identified from Greek sources even in the Sangam literature. Eg. *Mattikai* 'whip' (Paripatal 1620), *curunkai* 'underground passage' (Manimekalai 1279), *kannal* 'an hour glass' (Mani 7.64), *o:rai* 'hour' (Kali. 75.4) by Kamil Zvelebil (Meenakshisundaran, 1965:181). In the records of the Christian Missionary, there are many references about the Apostle St Thomas who should have visited and done some Missionary work in the beginning of the Christian era (Innasi, 1990:4f). However the major impact of the christianity took place only from the sixteenth century when Portuguese sailors came to the South India at the end of the 15th century. As Panikkar (1929:183) has noted that 'the Portuguese came first to India with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other and the conversion of the inhabitants of the lands was to be one of the objects of Portuguese policy'. The first Missionary work during this period was done by St Francis Xavier (1506-1552) among the

fisher folk and other low-caste inhabitants of Thiruvananthapuram. Fr. Henry Henriques in the sixteenth century seems to be the first Missionary who now is, considered 'first European Tamil scholar' (Innasi, 1990:9) From then on, many Missionaries speaking various European languages came to Tamilnadu to undertake Missionary works, studied Tamil and contributed to the development of Tamil language and Tamil linguistics. Their works spread over four centuries viz., the 16th to the middle of the 20th century.

### Development of Language

Being foreigners, they had introduced new technologies known to them in the subcontinent and so, two major changes had taken place connected with the language. They are generally considered westernization because they have come from the western countries and also modernization because they have taken place in the modern period of the Indian history. However, the modernization is defined from the sociolinguistic point of view as the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialised, secularised, structurally differentiated, *modern societies*, which can simply be said as the development of vocabulary and development of new styles (Ferguson, 1968). Annamalai (1980) has added another process called *simplification* as part of the modernization and explained it as 'the conscious efforts to simplify the language in the area of script, sandhi and syntax'.

The christian missionaries were responsible for the script reform and the introduction of punctuation marks including space between words. According to Annamalai (1980:4), these two innovations helped to greatly simplify the task of reading by eliminating reflection and back tracking and thus increasing speed and comprehension.

There is no problem with regard to the introduction of the punctuation marks. But in the scholarly circle, there is still dispute about the author who introduced the script reform especially in the vowels and the corresponding syllabic letters of *e* and *o*, because the changed shapes of the two graphemes for *e* and *o* are found in the earlier inscriptions and there is only direct evidence in the work of

*Beschi* (The grammar of the common dialect of Tamil, p. 18,3.2) for the reforms in the syllabic letters and no direct evidence for the reform in the vowels. Salini Ilandiraiyan (1985) has already argued well about the non-reliability of the stray evidence of the inscriptions and supported the evidence found in the grammar of the common dialect of Tamil for the reforms in the syllabic letters. There remains the problem with regard to the reform in the vowels. Even though there is a direct evidence in *Tonnul:1 vilakkam* (S.12), scholars were misled by the commentary of the sutra and hence doubted the authorship of the reform. The concerned sutra and the commentary are as follows:

*ni:ttal culittal*

*kuril, meykkirupulli* (S.12)

Commentary: 'A line (*ni:ntapulli*) over the short vowels *e* and *o* and a sounded dot (*culittapulli*) over the consonant will occur. Here the two processes, *ni:ttal* 'lengthening' and *culittal* 'rounding' are interpreted to apply respectively to the short vowels and the consonants. Even the phrase *ni:ntapulli* is itself not correct because the dot cannot be lengthened and a line cannot be considered as lengthened dots. Therefore sutra should be interpreted differently thus: Two short vowels *e* and *o* should have lengthening (i.e., stroke at the right hand line) and rounding (loop at the bottom) respectively and the consonants, a dot over them. If so, there is no doubt that *Beschi* was responsible for the script reforms in the two vowels *e* and *o*.

Because of the contact of different European languages, Tamil has borrowed loan words from Portuguese, Dutch, English and French (Meenakshisundaran, 1965: 188-93). Due to the influence of the Christianity, there are also loan extensions, i.e., using of native words in the new meanings (*Karttar*, *te:var* 'Jesus'; *racam* 'wine' especially in the Bible translation), loan creations i.e., creating new compounds to express new concepts (*te:va:layam* 'Church' *ve:tava:kkiyam* 'scriptures' etc.) and loan translations (*manusakuniarar* 'Son of God', *particutta a:vi* 'holy spirit', *acutta a:vi* 'unclean spirit etc). That is, the lexicon of Tamil has considerably increased due to the contact of the Christian Missionary.

## Development of Grammar

Tamil has already got great grammatical tradition. The Christian missionaries have mostly written grammars in the European languages like Latin, English and French. *Beschi* has written grammars both in Latin and Tamil. The importance of his Tamil grammar will be discussed separately below.

The grammars written by the Christian missionaries can be divided into three major heads from the linguistic point of view, viz., (i) Descriptive grammars (ii) Comparative grammar which means the comparison of the genetically related languages and the reconstruction of the proto language and (iii) Comparative study of grammars which means the comparison of grammars of a language belonging to two different periods. The last two are new areas of research introduced by the Christians.

In the second category, there is only one work but it is a pioneering and epoch making book. This is nothing but *Robert Caldwell's* (1818-1891) '*Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of Languages*' first published in 1856. This is the first comparative grammar for the Indian languages. The main contribution of the book is that the south Indian languages are not genetically related to Sanskrit which was the common prevalent opinion among the European and Indian scholars till then. But at the same time, it is popular among the Tamil scholars in the sense that it explains the greatness of the Tamil language. Eventhough *Caldwell* has praised Tamil for its antiquity and richness of lexicon, he never equated Tamil with Proto-Dravidian. In many places, he has shown that some features found in some other languages are more ancient than the features of Tamil. For example Kan.hes'ar (for pes'ar) Ta.Peyar 'name'. The Kannada form is considered to be older than Tamil (1856 (1956:153). Similarly Kan. nin 'you' (sg) Ta.ni: Here also Kannada form is archaic than Tamil ni: 'You' (P.335). He is now rightly considered to be the father of Dravidian comparative grammar. However the usefulness of the books to understand the grammatical theories of Tamil is yet to be evaluated.

In the second category also, there is only one book, *Tolka:ppiya-Nannu:l* or comparative reference edition of the *Tolka:ppiyam* and the *Nannu:l* with examples and notes critical and



explanatory' by *S Samuel Pillai*, first published in 1858. The full text of *Tolka:ppiyam* was first published only in this book (Subramaniam, 1992:64). The importance of this work has not yet been evaluated as it is not readily available.

In the first category of descriptive grammar, many grammars are available from the seventeenth century. The first grammar of the Tamil language by a foreigner now available is that of *Rev Philip Balde* (1632-1672), a Dutch Missionary, but he himself refers to the previous studies on the subject, especially that of Jesuit Father *Caspar d'quilar*, which unfortunately are all lost us (Meenakshisundaran, 1961:160). This is not a full grammar and also it is a part of a book on India.

The first full grammar was written by *Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg* (1683-1719) from Germany. His *Grammatica Demulica* written in Latin was first published in 1716. The most prolific writer in this area is *Constantius Joseph Beschi* (1680-1742) who had also assumed Tamil name, *V:rama:munivar*. He wrote three grammars in Latin and one grammar in Tamil. The original Latin version of grammar of 'the common dialect of Tamil' was written in 1728 and the Latin original was published in 1739 and the English translation in 1831. The Latin version of *A grammar of high dialect of the Tamil language* was written in 1730 and it was published together with the English translation in 1822. *Clavis* was written in C.1735 and published in 1876. The Tamil grammar *Tonnu:vilakkam* was written in 1732 and published in 1838. In the eighteenth century, there seems to be another grammar by *J P Fabricius* (1711-1791) called *A grammar for learning the principles of the Malabar language, properly called Tamil or the Tamulian language*, English Missionaries of Madras, Madras, 1778 (Meenakshisundaram, 1974:751). Kandasamy Pillai in his publisher's preface of Beschi's 'A grammar of the common dialect of the Tamil language' (P.V) refers to the same work without mentioning the name of the author and mentions that it has 63 pages and the second edition was published in 1789. Zvelebil (1955) refers to a Czech Missionary called *Przirkyl* (1711-91) who wrote a book *Principia linguae Brahmanica* where the Tamil grammar is discussed only in seven pages. This is not a complete grammar. The

grammars written during the nineteenth century is listed below. The list is not exhaustive one

(i) *Robert Anderson, Rudiments of Tamil grammar combining with the rules of Kodum Tamil or the ordinary dialect, an introduction to Shen Tamil or the elegant dialect of the language*. J.M. Richardson, London, 1821.

(ii) *Rev Karl Graul (1838-1879). Outline of Tamil grammar*, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1855.

(iii) *George Aglow Pope (1820-1908).*

(a) *A hand book of the ordinary dialect of the Tamil language*, 7th edition, Oxford University Press London, 1926.

(b) *A larger grammar of the Tamil language in both its dialects*, 2nd ed. P.R. Hunt, Madras 1859.

(c) *A Tamil handbook or full instruction to the common dialect of that language*, P.R. Hunt, Madras, 2nd ed. 1859.

(d) *Pope's third Tamil grammar*, P.R. Hunt, Madras, 1857.

(iv) *Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius (1789-1838) A grammar of the Tamil language with an Appendix*, Madras, 1836.

(v) *Lazarus John, A Tamil grammar designed for use in colleges and schools*, London, 1878.

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All the grammars written in foreign languages can be considered pedagogical grammars because they were written so as to be useful to the co workers and their countrymen. In these grammars, linguistically no clear-cut distinction is made between morphology and syntax. When a grammatical category is discussed, both the morphological and syntactical information are given in the same place and one grammatical category is described in terms of another grammatical category. For example, the past and future tense formations are explained on the basis of the present tense.

As already noted, in spite of its existence of many earlier native grammars, these grammars written by foreigners in the foreign languages are also useful. Meenakshisundaran (1961) who

had studied two foreign grammars, *Balde's Dutch grammar* and *Beschi's A grammar of the common dialect of Tamil* has noted three special aspects: (i) To know the colloquial language of the period. For example, the intervocal -t- was pronounced as -r- in some dialects; Collective pronoun *ella:m* 'all' would take the increment - (*attu* - instead of *arru* - in the colloquial language: *ella:ttaiyum* 'all(acc.)') These two facts are found *Ziegenbalg* grammar and so they can be taken to be the features of the 18th century language. (ii) Since most of the grammars discuss the Tamil alphabet with their phonetic values, the phonetic value of the Tamil graphemes can be identified. There is no other source for this except the foreign grammars. The famous law given by *Caldwell* on the convertability of surds (voiceless sounds) into sonants (voiced sounds) is now considered to be more ancient. This fact is not noted by any native grammar and. (iii) the structural analysis of Tamil graphemes i.e. discussion of allographs of the vowel graphemes was first undertaken by *Beschi*. Some more aspects can be also noted'. (iv) Theoretical improvements in the description of the language. For example, (a) the classification of the nouns on the basis of the variants of the empty Morphs (i.e. declensional class) and the classification of the verbs on the basis of the allomorphs of the tense suffixes, verbal participle etc (i.e. conjugational class) are first noted by these foreign grammars. In the modern descriptive study, the conjugational class is considered useful. *Ziegenbalg*, *Beschi*, *Graul* and *Arden* have discussed these classifications; (b) the consideration of the pronouns as a subclass of nouns is found in these grammars. The native grammars grouped the pronouns as part of common nouns i.e. *viravuppeyar*. They have to be considered separate subclass because of their different syntactical behaviour; (v) the new structural facts about the Tamil language have been observed by them: (a) All the Tamil grammars have noted the occurrence of the geminated consonants and consonant clusters. But in the occurrence of the geminated consonants, there is a restriction which is first noted by *Beschi* in his grammar on Centamil (*Beschi*, 1730:21). The germinated stops can alone occur when the preceding vowel is short or long (*pakkam* 'side', *pa:kkam* 'a village', *pattu* 'silk', *pa:ttu* 'song') but in the case of semi vowels and nasals, the vowel should be always short (*palli* 'lizard', *palli* 'school', *anni* 'elder

brother's wife', *ammi* 'grinding stone' etc: *pa:li* 'banyan tree', *va:li* 'bucket', *a:ni* 'nail' etc). This is true for the old Tamil, middle Tamil and the modern Tamil. (b) *Caldwell* 1856 (1956:540) has made a distinction in the action verbs (*tolirpeyar*) between verbal nouns and verbal derivatives because of their syntactical differences. *va:ltal* 'living', *patittal* 'reading' etc are true verbal nouns and hence they can be modified by an adverb. *nanku va:ltal* 'living well', *nanku patittal* 'reading well' are possible even though they are nouns. *va:lvu* 'life', *patippu* 'study' etc are verbal derivatives and they can only be qualified by an adjective. *Nalla valvu* 'good life', *nalla patippu* 'good study' etc. This distinction is true to all the periods of Tamil language. Therefore the foreign grammars should be considered part of the history of Tamil grammars.

Beschi's *Tonnu:vilakkam* (TV) is like a traditional native grammar. He has utilized the knowledge of Tamil grammars and even taken the whole sutras as they are in *Nannu:l* in many places. The detailed study recently undertaken (Shanmugam, 1993) has not only revealed many new insights but also raised some fundamental problems. The fundamental problems of TV are the subtitles given to each section and the authorship of the commentary. The present subtitles are responsible to mask the true nature of the subdivisions of phonology. The author of commentary as noted above the commentary is responsible for doubting the script reform made in the vowel series. Other problems are already listed (Shanmugam, 1993:121). Therefore the Christian Tamil scholars should try to bring out a critical edition of TV.

### Content of TV

TV contains five major chapters viz., *eLuttu* 'phonology', *col* 'grammar', *poruL* 'literary theme', *ya:ppu* 'prosody and *aNi* 'figure of speech'. They are not divided uniformly. The phonology is divided into three sections, the grammar into five section, literary theme into one section etc.

### General Nature

It has already been observed that TV is based on the other Tamil works available, on the subject. However, the treatment of third section *poruL* is so different that it has drawn the attention of

the scholars that it goes against the title TV. To quote: Meenakshisundaran (1974 : 232).

'Though he calls his work *Tonnu:l viLakkam*, his treatment goes against the grain of the Tamil'.

This means that TV has been understood in the literary sense and hence this comment. However, another scholar, Subramanyam (1978:32) has noted that the approach of TV in the third chapter is different but he has pointed out TV has taken 36 sutras into from *Nannu:l*, a medieval Tamil Grammar written during 13th century (p.31), out of 142 sutras found in the first two chapters. To this, the following can be added.

TV	<i>Nannu:l</i>
70	305 (the change in the first word)
98 (last three lines)	174
102	67, 350

Moreover, many other sutras in the first two chapters can be shown to have been adapted from *Nannu:l*

TV	<i>Nan:</i>
7	62
8	63, 64, 68
9	68,69,70
18	91,92
19	99,100
20	162
24	209
25. 1-3	207
26. 1-2	227
4-5	228
27	123
29	236
31	170
47. 2-3	132

51-1	266
51. 2-4	285
51. 8-6	287
56	295 etc.

The list is not exhaustive but it is given here to show two things: viz., i) that TV adapted the ideas from the earlier grammars and (ii) it has rearranged them. The adoption and adaptation may be responsible to name the work as TV. But Fr. Beschi has shown his originality in the definition of grammatical concepts as well as the rearrangement of sutras within the chapter as well as across the chapters. The latter also implies the theoretical significance.

### Phonology

The first chapter phonology contains 40 sutras and they are divided into three sections. *eLuttin iyalpu* (Ss 2 and 3, the first sutra is the prayer) 'nature of letters', *eluttin vakuppu* 'classification of letters' (Ss 4 to 20) and *eluttin vikaLram* 'change of letters' (Ss 21-40).

### Significance of Sub-sections

The first sutra of this chapter (S. 2) says that the nature of letters will be known, when, to: *rram* 'origin' *vakuppu* 'classification' and *vika:ram* 'change' are discussed. Here the phrase *elutt-iyalpu* 'nature of letters' is found in the sutra and hence the title of the section and this is alright.

This seems to have been taken to imply *eluttiyal* of the traditional grammar and of the phonology of modern linguistics. This is not correct because this sutra says simply that there are three major divisions in the chapter on phonology. Moreover, this conception might have led to the neglect of the importance of the next sutra and as a result, no separate sub-title is given for it.

The second sutra (S. 3) discusses the resonators for vowels and consonants and the list of speech organs. So, it is clear that this sutra should have been given a separate title called *to:rram*. Eventhough it denotes literary origin, it can be taken to refer to phonetics.

There is not problem about the title of other two sections.

It is clear from the first sutra as well as from the second sutra that phonology is treated under major heads. *to:rram* 'phonetics', *vakuppu* 'classification' and *vika:ram* 'change'. What is the significance of these subdivisions.

The sutras in the section *vakuppu* deal with the functional classification of letters, viz., *mutal* 'primary' and *ca:rupu* 'secondary', the grouping of the letters into vowels and consonants and their subdivisions, the distribution of letters as initials and finals, the duration of pronunciation of each letter, i.e. *matra*, and some morphophonemic alternations. In addition, there are sutras about the peculiar letters in Tamil contrast to Sanskrit (S. 6), methods or naming of letters (S. 7) and graphemic shapes of some letters (S. 12). It is not clear why the two morphophonemic changes (Ss 15 and 20) and the methods of naming of letters which are really applicable to the nature of words, are included here. It should be pointed out here that there are such inconsistencies in other sections as well as in other chapters of TV. But surprisingly TV has tried its best to remove the inconsistencies found in the earlier grammars and thus attempted to bring a rigorous methodology, as far as possible.

Any how, this section can be considered to have the phonetic and phonemic classifications of letters. But *vakuppu* should be taken here mainly to mean phonemics from the point of view of modern descriptive linguistics.

*vika:ram* is nothing but the change of letters of a word and so it can be easily equated with the modern morphophonemics or sandhi. Therefore the phonology in TV can be said to have four sub-sections, *eluttiniyalpu* (S. 2), *to:rram* (S. 3), *vakuppu* (Ss 4-20) and *vika:ram* (Ss. 21-40) and the phonology is treated under three sub-sections, *to:rram*, *vakuppu* and *vika:ram* and they can be equated to phonetics, phonemics and morphophonemics from the point of view of modern descriptive linguistics.

Tolka:ppiyam, the first Tamil grammar discusses phonology under three major headings: *eluttu* 'phonology', *pirappu* 'phonetics' and *puNarcci* 'sandhi' and *Nannu:l* under three different headings, *eluttu* which includes *pirappu*, *patam* 'word' and *puNarcci* 'sandhi' (for a detailed discussion see, Shanmugam 1980: 29-37). Now it is clear that the arrangement of phonology is new and it is more

nearer to the modern descriptive linguistics. As a foreigner, Fr. Beschi should have realised the importance of phonetics in learning a new language and so he might have placed phonetics first in the phonology chapter. In modern linguistics, phonetics is given the first place (see, for example, Pike, 1947 : 57) because the language is basically spoken, phonemics, the second place and morphophonemics the third place. Therefore it can be said that TV has anticipated the modern descriptive linguistics. This is true not only in this case but also in many other cases, some of which will be pointed out below.

### Rearrangement of sutras

Many features discussed under phonology in the most of the native grammars are dealt under the chapter on grammar because they are either appropriate or the theoretical model is different. For example, in the classification section, the demonstrative and interrogatives are included under the phonology in Tolka:ppiyam (Ss 31 and 32) and Nannu:l (Ss 66 and 67) but both of them are under 'grammar' in TV (Ss 100 and 102) because they are morphological classification and not phonological classification. This arrangement is to avoid the mixture of two levels, phonology and grammar. In ordinary words, it is due to appropriateness that TV has shifted the statements from the chapter to phonology to grammar.

In Some other cases, there seems to be some theoretical differences for the rearrangement. In the third section of phonology, *vika:ram* 'change' morphophonemic alternations are described. When compared to the other Tamil grammars, there are two glaring omissions in this section but they are accommodated in the chapter on grammar.

The alternations of pronouns, numerals: demonstrative pronouns and names of directions and measurements are discussed only under the chapter on grammar in TV. Similarly the occurrence of increments is found in the grammar chapter in TV. So, both of them are cases of rearrangement of sutras across the chapters.

The alternations of numerals, pronouns etc. are really morphologically conditioned alternations and so they cannot be described simply in terms of phonological conditions. Fr. Beschi



should have thought in the similar lines and hence discussed them in the next chapter. However this principle is not consistently followed because there are some examples in the section on change in the phonology chapter like *te:n* 'honey' (S. 25), *tev* 'enemity' (S. 29). Most probably one can justify the inclusion of those individual words by saying that they do not belong to a semantic class like pronouns and numerals.

In the modern descriptive linguistics, the phonological alternations are alone discussed under sandhi and the morphological classes. So, Fr. Beschi: here seems to have anticipated the modern development.

The discussion of increments which are referred to *ca:riyai* in Tamil grammars under phonology in Tolka:ppiyam and Nannu:l and under grammar in TV involves the different theoretical approach. Because they are not morphemic, they are discussed under phonology by earlier Tamil grammars. But it is discussed under morphology in TV probably because it is not phonologically conditioned and also not phonologically motivated like the addition of a plosive or a nasal.

In the modern descriptive linguistic, the increments which are called empty morphs, as they have no meaning, are discussed under morphology and not under phonology. Even here, TV is nearer to the modern descriptive linguistics.

### Explanation of some linguistic terms

Fr. Beschi has shown originality not only in the arrangement and rearrangement of sutras but also in the definitions of the linguistic terms.

### Tirattu

TV classifies the sandhi alternation into four types, out of which the fourth type *tirattu* 'collection', is alone new and other three, *tiripu* 'variation', *alivu* 'loss' and *a:kkam* 'addition' are found in the earlier grammars.

A word can have more than one sandhi alternation in a particular context. For example *te:n* 'honey'; + *kuTam* 'pot' become *te:kkutam*. Here there are loss of nasal and addition of the following plosive. To indicate that a word can have more than one sandhi

alternation at a time, TV should have recognised *tirattu* 'collection' as a new type.

### Definition of *col*

*Col* is the basic unit in the morphology-syntax chapter of all the Tamil grammars. Tolka:ppiyar has recognised only *col* and used it in the senses of morpheme, word and utterance. But Nannu:l has recognized another element *moli* which can be recognised and interpreted as 'word' and *col* as the utterance (S. 299, for details, see Shanmugam 1974). However it has recognized *patam* 'morpheme' in a section on phonology. Therefore TV has defined *col* (S. 42) as having two other units, *patam* 'morpheme' and *moli* 'word' and therefore *col* should be taken to refer to utterance only (Shanmugam, 1981).

### Paka:ppatam

TV uses the word *patam* in the sense of word (Ss 46 and 47) when it wants to differentiate between monomorphemic word and polymorphemic word. Monomorphemic words are nothing but 'roots'.

The monomorphemic word is defined by Nannu:l (S. 131) thus: 'Monomorphemic words are of four kinds viz. nouns, verbs, particles and attributives which are further unsegmentable and occur in the language from the earlier period'. Here the concept that monomorphemic words are time honoured is not historically correct because the lexicon of a language can change from time to time and hence new monomorphemic words could be added to the language. Therefore when a monomorphemic is defined, TV has included a phrase *nikalntu iyalkinra* 'current' (S. 46) to show that all the mono morphemic words which we are used in the past as well as which were used in the present are to be taken care of. That is, in any descriptive analysis, the historicity should be ignored. This is one of the main tenet of the descriptive linguistics.

### Metonymy

When metonymy is defined in Nannu:l, it has included a feature that it should occur from the time immemorial. That means, metonymies are those which are already found in the language (S. 290). This is not correct because new metonymies are found now

and then in the language. Therefore TV has not included that feature in its definition (S. 49). That is, here also, the historicity is omitted.

### Conclusion

To justify the title *tonnu:l viLakkam* it has adopted and adapted many sutras from the earlier grammars. But at the same time, it has shown many new insights in the organisations of phonology and grammar. Really it is nearer to the modern descriptive linguistics rather than to the native Tamil grammars. In more than one way, it has anticipated the birth of the descriptive linguistics in this century.

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# CHRISTIANS AND TELUGU

G. Krupachary

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## Introduction

Christianity is one of the major religions in the world. It was first introduced into India by Fr *Thomas* one of the disciples of Jesus Christ in 53 AD, thus making India as one of the earliest places to be brought under the new Gospel. In 345 AD Bishop Thomas of Edessa from Syriya came to India with a band of Christians but mainly for trade purpose. Then on May 20th 1498 the landing of *Vasco-de-Gama* on the West Coast inaugurated a new era not only linking up India with the west in Commerce and Trade but also the propagation of the new Gospel. The next great Christian figure that influenced the growth of Christianity in India was *Francis Xavier* from the Society of Jesus who first landed in Madras on 6th May 1542. He had done monumental work in both the social and religious fields. He organised intercaste marriages between 'Paravars' (the fishermen caste) and sowed the seeds for all egalitarian society. He learnt Tamil in a very short period of five months, and acquired a mastery over the language to be able to preach the Gospel in the language.

## Begning of Christian Translation

Sixteenth century may be described as the golden era as far as the Christian contribution to literature was concerned. *Robert-de-Nobili*, a Jessuit father came to Madurai in 1606 and within a short period learnt the two major South Indian Languages- Telugu and Tamil apart from Sanskrit and he wrote a number of books in Tamil namely *Gnanavilakkani*, *Gnanalakshna*,

*Satyanayavilakkam* and *Anandajeevam*. Besides these books in Tamil he also composed three Telugu books. They are: (1) *Gnana Samksehepam*, (2) *Punarjanma Akshepam*, (3) *Viswasa Sallapam*.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately his Telugu books could not be traced. His influence on social habits, especially of clergy, was quite significant, in that he introduced indigenous dress, i.e. white dress to jessuit fathers. This was the beginning of the nativization of the Christian faith in India. He had dressed himself as an Indian priest wearing wooden slippers, Yellow robes, sacred thread and caste marks. His erudition in the local languages, his sartorial habits and his simple living and high thinking earned him the title of '*Tatwabodha Swami*' or *Roman Sanyasi*.

For *Beschi* popularly known as *Veeramamunivar* was the next important figure in the spread of new religion in India. He composed *Tembavani* in thirty six chapters for the discrimination of new faith. *Paramandyya Sishylu Kadalu* a very popular collection of Telugu stories seem to have originated from Fr.Bechi's "*Paramardha Guruvin Kadhai*" in Tamil. Bechi also wrote books in Telugu especially on grammar but they could not be traced.<sup>2</sup>

### Telugu Printing Era

The Protestant missionaries who came to India in the 18th century from Germany and settled in Madras made very significant contribution to the growth of Telugu. The Lutheran Protestant Missionary *Rev. Benzamin schultze* arrived in Madras in 1728. He learnt Telugu, Tamil and Hindustani. He completed the Tamil Bible in 1728, which work was started by his predecessor *Ziegenbalg* in the very year of his arrival to India. This was printed in Tranquebar. He also completed the Telugu Bible in 1732 which is still remain unpublished available at Orphan House Library in Germany.<sup>3</sup> He published the first Telugu books in Halle, Germany in 1746. He had also published six books in four volumes in Telugu on various subjects.

1. *Mokshaniki Konchu poyyedova* (two books in one volume) 1746.
2. *Satyamiena Vedam lox Wunde Gnana Wupadesala Yokka Samskepam* 1747.

3. *Telugu Wandia loplā wpkdodadiki punyapu dova Chupinchi Nooru Gnana Wachanala Yokka Chinna Pustakam* (two books in one volume) 1747.
4. *Waka Gurru Ayidu brahmala Yokka nadumana Kurchemdi vidnlatonu vakkadi Akasamunnu, Bhuminni proppinchina pedda swami meeda prasanginchina Tarkaide* 1747.

These books are still found in British Museum, London.<sup>4</sup> The first three books are translations. The last one is his own compilation. In all these books we found that the language is purely colloquial and the script is some what different to the present day letters. At the end of the last books he composed lords prayer and ten commandments in Telugu. He published Telugu Grammar namely *Gramatica Telugica* in 1728 in Madras in both Telugu and Latin for the benefit of the European scholars who desired to learn Telugu language. This book was republished in 1984 on the occasion of 35th German independence celebration. This grammar book is composed in 199 pages with the following chapters.<sup>5</sup>

1. The script
2. Pronounciation
3. Noun
4. Adjectives
5. Pronouns
6. Verbs
7. Particles
8. Syntax

The language is purely colloquial. He also published another book in 1750 *Thirty dialogues for the Europeans to learn Telugu language*. Perhaps this is pioneering effort in that modern times we come across a series of books on how to learn a language in 30 days. He did it 200 years ago.<sup>6</sup> The book is extremely functional, in that deals with the dialogue with cooks, housemaids, washermen, shopkeepers and other people whom we come across in daily intercourse. How practical and pragmatic he was?

John Frederic Fritz published in 1728 a book entitled '*Orientalischund, Occidentalishces Sprachmeister*' in which he had listed out the alphabets of 100 languages and composed Lord's

prayer in 200 languages. Some of the Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit find a place in the book.<sup>7</sup> In 1812 *George Crane* and *Augustus-des-Granges* from London Missionary Society came to India on missionary work and published four Gospels in Telugu in 1812 at Serampore in West Bengal. In the same year *John Gordon* and *Edward pritchett* also from London Missionary Society where in Visakhapatnam on their missionary activities. They completed the New Testament in 1812 and published it in 1818 at Serampore. Another missionary who rendered a significant service to Indian literature was *Rev. William Carey* who came to India in 1793. He was wellversed in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Dutch, and Indian Languages like Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, Punjabi, Sanskrit besides Burmese and other 33 languages. He published the Bible in all the languages he had known. He even published in the Chinese language at Serampore and sent it to China.<sup>8</sup> From 1801 to 1832 Carey published besides the Bible, translations, grammar and dictionary in 42 languages and the total number of copies that he seems to have brought out is 2,12,000. He also published grammar in seven languages<sup>9</sup> viz. Sanskrit, Chinese, Burmese, Bengali, Punjabi, Marathi and Telugu.

He translated the *Ramayana* in Telugu but unfortunately it was lost in a fire accident on March 12th, 1812, but it was not resumed again. Some part of it was available at Serampore Carey Library. Carey also composed a polyglot dictionary in the same year, which is still unpublished at Carey library. It is in the form of *Amarakosa* with thirteen number of languages. If this book were published he may be the first man in the world to bring but the polyglot dictionary in thirteen language.<sup>10</sup>

Carey composed Telugu Grammar in 1812 and published it in 1814. This book is available at National Library, Calcutta. It is to note that the first Indian language Newspaper came out from the Serempore Press, *Dig-Durshan*, an Anglo Bengali Monthly, was started in 1818, and *Samachar darpan*, a Bengali Weekly, was started in 1819. *Friend of India* was the English paper of the Serampore missionaries started in 1817. In 1877, this was incorporated in the *Statesmen*, one of the leading paper in the country. Carey published the New Testament in 1818 and the first five books of Moses from



the Old Testament in 1821. He has taken Bible translation from the original Hebrew text. We find the translation seems to be odd for today's language, because he translated it from Hebrew and Latin without any change in Telugu suffixes.

### Father of Telugu Literary Renaissance

Now we come to the Telugu father of printing who is *Charles Philip Brown* (1798-1984). C.P. Brown a house hold name in the Telugu country brought many Telugu books into light and published on his own money. The bungalow he resided was popularly known as Brown's College when he was collector at Cuddapah.<sup>11</sup> He edited and published dictionaries, books on classical Telugu Literature, Telugu Grammar, *Bharatam*, *Bhagavadgeeta* and *Ramayanas*, besides *Sataka Kavyas*. It was he, who first introduced *Vemana* to Europeans. He published altogether 27 volumes of books. He translated the Gospel of Luke from New Testament, which was published in 1832, and Gospel of Matthew in 1840. He also published Gospel of Luke in 1843 and Gospel of John in 1844. His Holy Bible translation was not seen the light of the day during his time (1853).<sup>12</sup> But was New Testament edited and published by *Gordon and Pritchett*, but the whole part of Old Testament was published by *J.S. Wardlaw* and *J.Hay* was revised by the Bible committee and printed in 1857. Unfortunately Brown's name was not acknowledged. But this translation has been the standard version with a few changes. He also composed a dictionary of the mixed dialects and foreign words used in Telugu, in 1854.<sup>13</sup>

In 1842 *John Christian Fredrick Heyer* came to Guntur, learnt Telugu and founded Lutheran Church. He was largely responsible for the development of the Palnad area. He has also composed christian songs in Telugu.

Next comes *A.D. Campbell*. He published a *Grammar of Teloogoo language* in 1816. He also published a *Dictionary of Teloogoo Language* in 1821.

Col. *Makanjee* was working in East India company office, Madras in 1782 and later became a military officer. He toured all over South India surveying about forty thousand square miles and

left behind a very authentic account of the towns of the roads and rivers. His maps are still a standard for the Survey department. He was also assisted by *Kavali Venkata Borrayya* and *Venkata Lakshmiah* and others. Col. Makanjee identified the stories of *Raja Vasi Reddy Venkatadri* of Amaravathu was trying to use for the construction of his mansion at Deepala Dinne as the stoops of Amaravathu and was instrumental and restoring them to the original habitat. Makanjee also ascribed his local histories to the inspiration of Brown writings. The manuscript books, coins, historical evidences, literary artefacts and collection of social customs and habits which Makanjee gathered greatly helped Brown in his writings.<sup>14</sup>

*Bishop Caldwell* (1814-1891) the Christian Evangelist who undertook a 'Pada Yatra' of the entire Tamil Country, learnt Dravidian languages and became so proficient in them that he composed '*Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*' in 1855. He also wrote '*A Political and general History of the District of the Tinnevely*' and composed two more books in Tamil '*Dhynamalai, Tamarai Tadagam*'. William Carey believed that the Dravidian languages originated from Sanskrit, but Caldwell disproved it.

The other contributor to Telugu literature was *Rev. Riccaz* wrote concise Telugu grammar in 1869. A.H. Arden wrote '*A Progressive Grammar in Telugu*' in 1873. *H. Morris* simplified Telugu grammar in 1890. It was he who first described Telugu as the Italian of the East. J.C. Morris (1735-1839) seems to have composed a dictionary which helped Brown, according to some letters.

In 1837 Captain *H.Harkness* published a book entitled '*Ancient and Modern alphabets of popular Hindu language of Southern peninsula of India*' was printed at London.

## Conclusion

Thus we have almost an unbroken tradition of Christian contribution to Telugu Literature from the beginning of Christian era to the present times. Many of the names mentioned in the foregoing account, have made pioneering efforts without which the Telugu language and literature today would have been poorer.

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## CHRISTIANS AND URDU

Syed Safiullah

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The Christian contribution to Urdu Literature is very valuable both in quantity and quality. The Christians are seen sharing their contribution towards the development of Urdu literature since the very early period of its history. As a matter of fact Urdu owes to them for their multisided contribution in the form of compiling dictionaries, writing books on grammar, preparing teaching material in the form of Readers, settling prose writing style to modern one and fixing the trend of poetry. Though some of these categories such as compiling dictionaries and grammar rules, are not uncommon with regard to their contribution to other languages, but a detailed study will bring some valuable facts to our knowledge on some distinct aspects of their contribution which is sure to add pride to Urdu.

This contribution has come in two ways - namely in the form of Organisational contribution and in the form of Individual contribution.

The Organisational contribution has come with the establishment of four major organisations: (1) Fort St. John's Colleges, Madras, (2) Fort St. George College, Calcutta (3) Delhi College and (4) Anjuman-e- Panjat. Though this first three organisations were established by the Britishers in the form of educational institutions, but their contributions were the efforts of that *Orientalists and lovers of Indian language, who were either incharge of their institutions or connected with them.*

The Fort St. George College was founded in 1717 A.D. as "Writers College" in the Campus of Fort St. George, Madras. This college was originally established with the purpose of training the Writers (clerks) and civil servants in the Indian languages and culture. These servants were recruited in England, brought to India and posted at different places. Such being the case, it was necessary that these 'writers' know the language and culture of the people whom they are going to be with. It was this need the writers college had to cater. As the East India Company grew up and its trade contracts spread the college also grew. The premises became insufficient. So the college was shifted to another building and later, when even this building became insufficient, it was again shifted to a very spacious place where it finally settled.

When the activities of the college spread, it was reorganized in 1812 A.D. so that its responsibilities could be accommodated. A full-fledged Board of Directors was constituted. The college was divided with four sections. The teaching Department, Department of Writing and editing books, printing and publication section and the library. In this teaching Department, languages like Hindustani, Dekkani, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Tamil, Canerese and Malayalam were taught besides law and arithmetics. This college existed till 1854 A.D.

As was pointed out, there were two separate sections in the college where the languages, were taught and books were written, edited or translated. For this purpose a number of scholars were employed by the college. In addition to these the college also encouraged such scholars who were not on the roll of this college, but wished to write or translate books. The English Orientalists like *Dr. Henry Haris* and *Dr. Edward Balfour* who were not attracted to the college, but under the patronage of the college they contributed a lot. Their works are given under the individual's contribution.

The hitherto less known Fort St. George College of Madras has played a vital role in the rebirth and propagation of the then Dekkani language during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Urdu in its older form was once a language of India commonly spoken from Punjab to Deccan. But after the revolt of Bahmani kings against the Delhi rule, the political boundaries

divided it. After this division the language also came to be known with two different names - Hindvi in the North and Kakhni in the South. Under these names the languages advanced through different stages of progress for a period of not less than two centuries. By the end of the 17th century *Aurangzeb* defeated *Adil Shahi* and *Qutub Shahi* kings and annexed their territories to his empire. This ended the centuries-old barrier between North and South and the two counterparts of the same language had a chance to meet each other. During these two centuries, as was pointed out earlier, Urdu flourished in both the regions under different linguistic and cultural environments. In northern region it underwent some structural changes due to the influence of various forms of prokrites which resulted in making it more sweet and more soft whereas in South (or Deccan) it had remained static in the form of Dakhni. No doubt this latter improved a lot making it capable of expressing any thought or idea but could not shed away its older format. Thus is the difference between the two styles. The scholars who were till then writing in Dakhni style could not miss to see this difference. It was, therefore, natural for them to be attracted towards a more refined and more sweet style. They soon preferred writing in the newer style by dropping some of their Dakhni phrases, words and idioms. Soon appeared a new form of Dakhni where in a large number of its old phrases and idioms were shed off. The old style also disappeared to some extent.

It was at this stage that the college authorities look up to revive the dying Dakhni style. They persuaded the teachers of the college to write or translate books in Dakhni, particularly that form of Dakhni which was spoken in the Carnatic region which was a little different from that spoken in Bijapur or Hyderabad. The translation of the famous Sanskrit masterpiece 'Panch Tantara' through the Persian '*Anwar-e-Suhaili*' into Dakhni is one such effort. Mumshi Mohamed Ibrahim did this translation on the request of his master Thomas Henry Monk. While expressing this desire Thomas Henry Monk said to Henri that if Ibrahim rendered the book in the Carnatic idiom (i.e.) in Dakhni spoken in Carnatic region he would win pleasure and appreciation of the authorities and more than that the work would give new life to Dakhni. As this language was at the vanishing stage, Mohamed Ibrahim had to

wander through the city to catch the old idioms, spending day and night without proper meals and sleep. He worked on this translation for three years. It was completed in 1822 A.D. It is not only the first Urdu translation of the '*Panch Tantara*' to be published but also the first published Urdu book from madras.

The translation of Arabian Nights under the title '*Hikayatul Jalila*' is yet another meritorious work produced under the patronage of this college. John Strokes, the first member of the College Board, requested Shamshuddin Ahmed, a Munshi of the College, to render the Arabian Nights into Dakhni. Only two hundred nights could be translated which were brought out in two volumes. It is the earliest Urdu translation of Arabian Nights rendered as published.

Many more books were prepared in Dakhni on a variety of subjects like military rules, discipline and parade rules under the titles '*Fouji Qawanin*', '*Qawaid-e Taleem-e Fauj*' and '*A'in wa Qawanin-e Afwaj-e Company Ilaqa Madras*', etc. But for the efforts of this college, Dakhni language would have disappeared long back. Many of the Dakhni works produced and used by the college as its teaching material is found in the form of manuscripts and books in libraries at Madras, Hyderabad, Paris and London.

Another great institution that has made valuable contributions to Urdu is Fort William College, Calcutta. This College was established in 1800 with the object of training British Civil servants in the languages and customs of India. Dr. John Borthwick Gilchrist was appointed as its first Principal. He was a lover of Urdu or Hindustani. As soon as he took charge of the College he collected from Delhi and United Provinces and invited them to prepare teaching material through translations as the suitable textbooks, were not available then. The books then available in Urdu were written in a florid and conventional style which was quite unnatural and far away from the spoken one. Therefore he laid emphasis on the simple, and spoken language for the textbooks. Thus he freed the prose from the clothes of the conventional, conservative, luxuriant, richly figurative and unnatural style putting it on the modern lines. Thus he succeeded in getting the textbooks prepared as he desired.

In the words of Graham Bailey 'he has given a great impetus to prose composition in these languages. It is true that after Gilchrist left the country the movement hung fire, but it is not possible to doubt that the revival of interest which took place later on was in great measure due to his work'. (A History of Urdu literature Mohamed Sadiq p. 291). It is also being said that had the College never existed the course of modern Urdu prose in all probability would not have differed, in any important respect, from what it has been. But the fact that, this college introduced the style what was adopted later under an independent movement cannot be ignored.

The Delhi College was started in 1702, as an Oriental college. Its establishment was supported by voluntary contributions from Muslims for the study of Persian and Arabic first. But due to shortage of funds it could not be continued. In 1825 the Government came out to support the college and it was once again made to function. A notable feature of the college was the Society for the promotion of knowledge in India generally known as the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society, which published Urdu translations of a large number of English books. V. Felix Boutras, Dr. Sprenger and Francis Taylor did much to diffuse Western learning in the city. Famous Urdu writers and poets like Hali and Nazir Ahmed were the products of the College. Its members included Ghahic, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Munshi Piyare Lal, besides eminent British officials who participated in its activities.

The Anjuman-e- Punjab founded by W.G. Leitner, the first Principal, Government College, Lahore is another organisation which showed the Western light to Urdu poetry. Col. W.R.M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instructions, Punjab, another member of this association was responsible for the famous mushaira (1874) which attempted to encourage the composition of Urdu poetry on Western lines.

Apart from the institutional or organisational contribution, some Christians have contributed a lot in the progress of the language in their individual capacity. John Gilchrist, Thomas Roebuck, Dr. Henry Harris, Edward Balfour, Richard Smith, Greenaway and Gorsan De Tarse and some of them who deserve due mention.



John Gilchrist is called the father of modern Urdu prose as it was due to his untiring efforts that the language achieved the capacity of expressions in different fields of knowledge and could take the place of court language replacing Persian in 1836. Dr. Gilchrist was a Scottish born at Edin borough in 1759. He entered East India Company as a Doctor in 1783 and came to India. He became the first principal of Fort William College in 1800. He left India in 1804 and returned to his native country. In 1816, he went to London where he gave coaching in Eastern languages to Indian Civil Service candidates. In 1818, he became Professor of Urdu at the oriental Institute, London. He died at Paris in 1814.

Dr. Gilchrist had a real love for Urdu Language. It is said that he used to keep roaming through the areas where pure and idiomatic Urdu was spoken, in Indian dress, and acquire the language. He has left a number of books in Urdu. A complete list of them is given in the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol IX. A few of them are:

1. English Hindustani Dictionary in 2 volumes (1798)
2. Oriental Linguist (1790)
3. Hindustani Grammar (1796)
4. Hindustani Philology.

Thomas Roebuck was another great patron of Urdu writers. He was basically an army officer. But the association of Gilchrist created a very strong interest in him towards Urdu Literature. He succeeded Gilchrist as the Principal of Fort William College when the latter retired in 1804. He assisted John Gilchrist in the preparation of 'English Hindustani Dictionary'. For this purpose, he took two years leave from his office. He himself had produced a few books of which one is on the dictionary of Navigation and another on the grammar of Urdu Language. A detailed book on Urdu grammar with the title '*Hindustani Interpreter*' was also written by him which was published from London in 1824 and later from Paris. He persuaded many Urdu scholars to write books on various subjects.

A military doctor of the Madras regiment, Dr. Henry Harris got interested in preparation of a Hindustani - English Dictionary

in 1778 for which he sought and got financial assistance from the government. The work went on enlarging and finally appeared under the title '*Analysis, grammar and Dictionary of the Hindustani language*'. It was published from Madras in 1791.

Dr. Edward Balfour is another Christian contributor to Urdu whose pioneering efforts to propagate the language in South and to uplift the Urdu speaking community of Madras have won a name in the annals of History. He came to India as a physician in 1834. Later he was appointed as a political agent to the Nawab of Carnatic. He also served the government in various capacities. With an idea to acquaint the people he founded an association with the name '*Majma-e-Ilm-o-Hunar*', monthly sittings were held and lectures were delivered on current topics in Urdu language. He left four books in Urdu:

- (i) *Guldasta-e- Sukhan* (memories of Urdu and Persian poets)
- (ii) *Kitab-e-Ilm-e-Nujoom* (on the Science of Astronomy)
- (iii) Statistical data and the world map (in Urdu)
- (iv) *Usool-e- Fun-e- Khabalat* (outlines of midwifery)

The last book was basically a translation from English published in 1852 with 28 illustrations from the Fort St. George College Press. According to Dr. Balfour, no such book on the subject of midwifery was till then available in any Indian language.

Captain Greenaway, an old student of the College of Fort Saint George, Madras, produced an Urdu Drama, the first one in Urdu, in 1852. This Drama '*Ali Baba Aur 40 Chor*' published from Madras was actually based on the famous story '*Ali Baba and the 40 thieves*'.

Garson De Tasse, a professor of Indian Languages at Paris was a great Orientalist. He used to collect Urdu books and news papers published throughout the year and on the basis of such collected material he used to give lectures to his students on the opening day of the college. These lectures serve as a valuable record of works published in India. They also presented a very good review and assessment of Urdu literature of that period. Besides,

he wrote and published a few books also on Urdu literature in French.

First Hindustani grammar was written by John Joshua Ketler in 1715. He was ambassador of the Government of Holland to Indian emperor *Shah-e-Alam Jehandar Shah* in 1712. He prepared a dictionary of Hindustani also which was published by David Mull in 1743. He also translated the *Ten Commandments* and 'Lords' prayer and appended it to his Hindustani grammar. Father Shulz prepared in 1744, another Urdu grammar under the title '*Grammatica Hindustanica*' in Latin. The same year Mull wrote a book on Urdu Alphabets and words. G.A. Fritz also wrote a book on the same subject but here he had compared Urdu Alphabets to those of other Western languages. A similar book was written by Italian Father Casinobelligatli in 1761 under the title '*Alphabetum Brahmanicum*'. In 1772 appeared Hadley's book on grammar. In 1778 '*Grammatical Indostana*' come out in Portuguese language 1808 was marked with the publication of Hindustani English Dictionary by Captain Taylor and Dr. Hunter. John Shakespeare published his '*Hindustani Grammar*' in 1813 and *Hindustani English Dictionary* in 1817. Captain Prize and Yeats wrote books on some aspects of Urdu. Dinken Forbes not only left several books on subjects like grammar and Dictionary but has edited a number of old classics. Dr. Felin contributed to Urdu grammar and dictionary. Craven's short dictionary came in 1881. Plates published his grammar in 1874 and his dictionary some ten years later.

The Christians have also enriched Urdu Literature with the translation of Bible. Benjamen Shulz and Collinburg translated Bible in 1748 and 1750. Dr. Hunter got the '*New Testament*' translated by two Urdu scholars and published from Calcutta in 1805. Father Martin rendered '*New Testament*' in Urdu and published in 1814. The Christian priests from Serampur published Urdu translation of Bible in five volumes during 1816 and 1819.

The beginning of Urdu Journalism also owe to Christian Journalists. The first Urdu newspaper '*Jam-e-Jehan Numa*' appeared in 1822 from Calcutta. It was the property of an English Commercial House of Calcutta and was published under the joint editorship of Mr. W.E. Pearce and Lala Sadasukh.

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## CHRISTIANS AND TRIBAL LANGUAGES

K. Karunakaran and V. Jeya

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### Introduction

This paper is the outcome of an exploratory/pilot study made to identify and present briefly the contribution of Christians to the tribal languages of India in general and that of Dravidian tribal languages in particular. India is a linguistic or sociolinguistic area where we find a number of tribal languages and dialects in all the four major language families. In the Indian multilingual context, languages are classified as tribal vs non-tribal, written vs spoken, developed vs developing, cultivated vs uncultivated, majority vs minority so on. Among the tribal languages we come across languages which are only spoken, undeveloped and uncultivated. These languages or dialects were not analysed till the 18th century. Many of them were not known to the outside world due to several constraints that existed for the tribals and scholars. They were isolated and remained in their own inaccessible settlements without any contact with inter groups around them. So, their languages/dialects also were found with out any external impact.

However, after the colonization of the Europeans in different parts of the country, gradually some interest was shown towards the tribals, their languages and cultures. As a result of this, the early Christian missions which have been set-up for the welfare and betterment of human beings explored the 'primitive men' who were living in the isolated pockets of India and had no accessibility with the main stream of people.

Tribals are the people who maintain and retain their age old Cacoon life style, heritage, culture, habits, beliefs, language, etc. protected from the impact of other social groups. With sheer aim to cultivate those rustic people and to provide them some kind of social benefits, to socialize them and also to disseminate and propagate the concept of Christianity among the downtrodden people, the Christian missionaries had been geared-up with full swing. The Christian missionaries have identified this 'fertile area' and taken tremendous efforts to work for the tribes, their languages, etc. It was the period during which no basic facilities were available to approach the hamlets where those rustic men inhabit, and to be with them. When the Christian scholars and officials appeared in settlements where the tribals live, in order to meet them, they manced having seen those strangers. It is not an exaggeration to mention that unless the Christian scholars had not taken such serious and risky efforts, the tribal people would not have been exposed themselves to the outside world. Also they would have not even dreamt of the betterment of life and the privileges they enjoy at present in all walks of life. At this context it becomes necessary to mention the fact that no one can deny or forget the sheer endeavor taken towards educating the people of this country, whether they are civilized or aborigines, by the Christians. Thus, Christian scholars were the people who have sown the the seed for the development of education in India. Education as used here refers to not only the formal educational system but also the endeavors taken towards the 'cultivation' of human beings.

The Christian scholars have appropriately identified the thrust areas and worked on it with due dedication. At the outset, in order to implement the projects it was considered as very imperative for them to identify the social groups then their culture and language. Having identified the 'speech community' the missionaries started their work with reference to their languages.

This paper tries to explain the range, type and quantum of contributions of Christians towards the upliftment of tribes inhabiting in India in general and that of the Dravidian tribes in particular. The contribution of Christian scholars have been

classified here on the basis of the time factor (period), into two parts viz.,

1. Contributions made during the 18th, 19th centuries
2. Contributions made during the 20th century.

The areas in which they have contributed and the tribal groups on which they have worked on have been discussed briefly in this paper. Their contributions have also been justified in terms of purpose, etc. as well the same have been evaluated. The contributions can also be subclassified in terms of social and linguistic products and consequences.

### 1. Identification of Tribal Community

There are a number of tribal groups in India. Some of them have been identified and explored in different perspectives and some others are to be identified in the future. Scholars belonging to Christian religion have initiated the painstaking efforts of exploring the primitive men living in the wild forest areas without minding their lives and with an ultimate aim to uplift the tribals and forest dwellers.

Scholars like *Metz, J.Friedrich* (1864) have visited many of the tribal settlements located in the Nilgiris (Tamilnadu) and brought out their life style, culture, beliefs, language, etc. to the lime light. It is to be noted that there is no evidence for such works that have been conducted during the 18th century, but during the 19th century there are very limited works on the identification and description of social communities and their social status including the demographic factors. On the other hand, during the present century Christian scholars had identified a large number of tribal communities living in India, Mention of some such scholars will be quite meaningful. *Legrand, F.* (1955) and *Francis* (1908) have enumerated most of the tribal communities living in the Nilgiris. Similarly, *Price J.F.* (1906) has detailed the tribal groups of Ooty area. *Gate, R.R.* (1965) has identified the 'Kurumba' tribal community while *Rivers, W.H.R.* (1906) identified the *Todas*. These Christian scholars have really paved the way for the identification of new social groups. Following these scholars several other scholars have tried to identify new social groups living in thick

forest-areas. Thus, the Christian scholars were pioneers in this type of efforts.

## 2. Identification of Speech Variety

Identification of a social community is the initial step or effort to be taken with regard to the development of human beings. Identification of linguistic behaviour or language or dialect is also very important, as this will in turn help to determine whether a particular social group is a separate one or sub-group of another social group. Thus, it is essential to determine the speech variety of a social group as soon as a social community is established. Having identified a speech variety of a social community it is to be determined whether their speech variety is a separate language or dialect of a major language or neighbouring language. For this purpose, the vocabulary of the given speech community have to be elicited and compiled and a grammar has to be written on the basis of some kind of systematic analysis.

Identification of the speech community, collection of vocabulary of the tribal languages, writing elementary grammars for those unwritten languages, etc. have been undertaken and completed by the Christian scholars realizing the fact that such works will be useful for others who would like to visit the tribal settlements for different purposes official/unofficial. Unless one is able to communicate with the tribes in their language, it would be difficult for him to explain the virtues of the programme he has undertaken. The Christian scholars have understood clearly the basic rationale behind this fact and consequently tried to learn and manifest those tribal languages, besides describing them linguistically.

Actually, the Christian scholars were of the intention to translate the Bible into various languages both in the developed languages and in the minor languages (tribal languages) in order to offer different sections of the society/country opportunities to go through the Bible and also to popularize the Christian thought. That is the reason why the Christian scholars taken the initiative to describe the unwritten languages spoken in different parts of India.

It is very important to mention here, in this context, that the study of the tribal languages or tribal dialects is a must and quite relevant from the points of view of culture and social structure of the speakers of a language. As the tribals were uneducated and had no access to the mainstream people during those days they were able to maintain and preserve many old and distinct features which were quite useful not only for the linguistic study but also for socio-ethnic studies. Besides, the description of such languages and the contrastive analysis of tribal languages will be of immense help to learn their languages more scientifically. With the above view points in mind, many Christian scholars have embarked in the quest of social communities, identification and description of tribal languages, collection of basic vocabularies of the tribal languages and writing grammars for such identified languages

During the 19th century many Christian scholars identified several tribal linguistic groups distributed in various parts of India and speaking different languages, and they prepared profiles (linguistic/social) of those groups and established their speech varieties (languages or dialects). Some of them are mentioned below:

*Schmid, Bernahard* (1837) has identified a dialect of 'Toda'. Similarly *Robert, R.E.* (1862) has identified 'Malto' as a language. *Cain, John* (1881) has located 'Verakala' as a language and *Flex, Oscar* (1870) established 'Uraon' as a language.

Besides these scholars some other Christian scholars like *Metz, J. Friedrich* (1856) and *Stevenson, John R.* (1892) collected 'Toda vocabulary' and *Dawson, Rev. James* (1870) collected the vocabulary of the *Gondi* language. Some elementary grammars for tribal languages have also been written during the 19th century by the Christian scholars. For example, *Pope, George Uglow*, (1872) has written a grammar for *Toda* and *Cole, R.A.* (1861) has written a grammar for the *Coorg* language.

The studies that have been carried out during the 19th century kindled the interest of young scholars belonging to the Christian religion and they consequently concentrated on the description of tribal languages to a greater extent. Of the works done during this century the works of *Emeneau, M.B.* (1939),



Burrow, T. (1956), Zvelebil, Kamil (1981) Andronov. N.S. (1974) Grierson, G.A., Bloch, Jules (1964) on various tribal languages are noteworthy and used as good reference material for further studies

In this context, it should be mentioned here that more than one scholar have worked on a particular tribe, applying various perspectives and thus, they have brought out different types of findings which in turn helped the future researchers to get more knowledge on those tribes their languages, cultures, communication patterns, etc.

## 2 a. Writing Grammars for Tribal Languages

During this century in the area of identification of speech community and preparation of grammars for tribal languages, more than 25 Christian scholars have worked on various tribal languages viz, *Irula, Korava, Kadar, Parji, Kui, Toda, Nahali, Gondi, Kurumba, Paniya, Kota*, etc.

	Name	Year	Language
1.	Diffloth, Gerard, F.	1968	Irula
2.	Grierson, G.A.	1930	Korava
3.	Zvelebil	1973	Irula
4.	Ehrenfelz, F.R.	1952	Kadar
5.	Fuchs, Stephen	1953	Kadar
6.	Fitzgerald, A.G.	1913	Kuvi
7.	Lisker, Leigh	1957	Parji
8.	Morton, Betch	1968	Parji
9.	Isreal, M.	1974	Kui
10.	Emeneau, M.B	1939	Toda
11.	Legrand, F.	1952	Toda
12.	Zvelebil, Kamil	1981	Nilgiri tribes
13.	Burrow	1956	Ollari
14.	Shafer, Charles, Robert	1940	Nahali
15.	Matchell, A.N.	1942	Gondi
16.	Bloch, Julis	1942	Gondi
17.	Christoph Van	1969	Gondi

18.	Lincoln	1948	Gondi
19.	Garman, M.A G	1973	Coorg
20.	Shuffman, Harold, C.	1975	Pengo
21.	Robert, S.Joseph	1982	Mullu Kurumba
22.	Jean Lawrence, S.	1980	Paniya etc

Apart from this, certain other Christian scholars have collected vocabularies in different tribal languages. In the 'Kota' languages more than four scholars (1) *Harris, Z.S.* (1945) (2) *Sponsor, D.M.* (1945), (3) *Emeneau* (1946) and *Bloch Julis* (1946) have collected vocabulary items. This shows the richness of Kota vocabulary. The words collected by those Christian scholars were of immense help for the further analysis both for the comparative study or Dictionary making. Similar works also have been done by scholars like, *Stokes, H.E.* (1968) on 'Yerukala' language and *Johnson, R.* (1969) on 'Kui' language.

## 2. b. Research Oriented Works

Next to the above mentioned basic works, research oriented studies have also appeared to a considerable extent. Among the studies made by the Christians on tribal communities and their languages, some are directly beneficial to the society concerned and some are found to be useful for developing 'linguistic inquiry'. So there are two types of studies viz., (1) the tribal research as 'practice' and (2) the tribal research as a field of 'inquiry'. It would be worth mentioning here, that during the initial period, the former type of research was carried out and now-a-days, the latter type of research has gained significance.

Notwithstanding this, much effort has been taken towards the study of tribal communities and their languages. However, there are some tribal languages/ communities which still remain unexplored.

## 2. c. Historical Perspective of Tribal Languages

Attention has also been paid by the Christians on tribal communities, languages, cultures, etc. from the historical point of view during the early period. Many works of this nature were carried out by the Christians during the 19th century. Such works have enabled the present day researchers to look at the tribes from

various view points. However, interest in this type of analysis has decreased gradually among the scholars.

Similarly, the origin of tribals and the development of aborigines have also been studied by several scholars. It is interesting to note that a large number of studies of this sort have been done on the tribes of Nilgiris by the Christian scholars. Some of these works which are found to be quite useful and meaningful are mentioned below-

1. Sewell, R. (1882) 'Nilgiri tribes'
2. Breeks, J.W. (1873) 'Origin of Nilgiri tribes/languages'
3. Schmid, Bernhard (1848) 'Origin of aboriginal language in Nilgiri'
4. Stortt, J. (1898) 'Origin of aboriginal language in Nilgiri'
5. Ouchterloney (1868) 'Origin of aboriginal language in Nilgiri'

Even the inscriptions of some of the unanalysed languages had been identified and recorded by the Christians. For example *Rice, L.* (1886) identified the inscriptions found in the Coorg language of Karnataka.

Such studies carried out during this century are not many in number. It is found that there are only two studies on the origin and history of Coorg and Pengo viz., The study made by *Kanty, B.G.* (1931) on the Coorg language and the study of *Steever Stanford, B.* (1958) on the Pengo language can be quoted to this effect.

### 3. Comparative Study of the (Tribal) Languages

Comparative study of languages is one of the first attempts made by scholars of the early period in different parts of the globe. The history of linguistics of Europe brings this fact. Some of the Christian scholars entered into this field of inquiry and made comparative study of the tribals and their language/dialects. It was *Robert Caldwell*, who made a pioneering and noteworthy contribution with regard to Dravidian languages identified the South India literary and tribal languages and explained their origin, cognitive relationship, etc in a more general way. He has also

identified the inter-relationship found among Dravidian and other language families. Caldwell's contribution (1856) is considered as a rich contribution and even today this work has research value as there are a number of useful descriptions, references for the comparative linguists and researchers. The study of comparative linguistics enabled the researchers to reconstruct the proto language and the properties of the language variety that existed during the early period.

This may also help understand the various types of development and changes that have taken place in a language across the time. So, during early period itself, this idea was conceived by many Christian scholars. They have not only compared the different linguistic groups (tribes) but also various tribal dialects which belong to one linguistic family. For example, Coater, J.M (1975) has compared the dialects spoken in the Chotanagpore area.

This type of study gained momentum only during the 20th century. Quite a number of Christian scholars have started working in this area. This is a very rich area which requires further serious study. The names of the Christian scholars such as Emeneau, M.B. (1939), Burrow (1956), Zvelebil, Kamil (1981), Andronov, M.S. and others have to be mentioned here for their substantial contribution in this type of study. The findings and observations of such works help the present-day researcher to deal with many of the problems experienced in reconstructing the proto - Dravidian language. Burrow and Emeneau have compiled and edited a Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, which is an efficient resourceful work and can help in a big way, the young researchers who work on comparative Dravidian.

#### **4. Sociological and Anthropological Studies on Tribal Languages**

In order to identify the antiquity of the tribal community, it is quite imperative to study the tribal groups from the sociological and anthropological perspectives, because, they are more confident in preserving and protecting their own way of life, culture, social system etc. So, the Christian scholars belonging to the 19th century have not left out this area also. It is a fact that language manifests

culture, social-beliefs, customs, etc. of the society. So, through language such items have also been analysed. This in a way enabled the scholars to impart awareness on various aspects of life to the tribal communities.

*Marshal William, E.* (1873) has viewed the Toda community from sociological and anthropological perspectives and brought out several interesting points on their life-style, etc. Following this type of work, in the present century, many Christian scholars have studied the tribes from the sociological and anthropological points of view. The Toda tribes has been studied by scholars such as *Emeneau* (1939), *Lass, R.* (1977), *Marr, J.R.* (1978), *Zimmermann, Francis* (1976), *Peter, Prince of Greece* (1962) and others. Moreover, one of the Christian scholars who have studied many tribes inhabiting in Nilgiris from the sociological and anthropological perspective is *Hockings, Paul E.* (1962). His works on Nilgiri tribes are monumental in nature. Similar to this *Archer, W.G.* (1943) has done work in the Kurukh language.

### 5. Study of Ethnology of the Tribals

As mentioned earlier, 'ethnology' is one of the very important and useful areas. Study of this aspect of the tribal population will bring out many interesting facts about them.

*Campbell* (1866) has written a book on *Ethnography of India* in which he has mentioned clearly various kinds of cultural and social aspects of tribes inhabiting in India. This is a pioneering attempt which motivated many Christian scholars to look at this perspectives. Consequently in the present century fairly good amount of work of this kind has been carried out by scholars in India and elsewhere.

In the beginning of the 20th century, *Martin, F.C. Alymar* (1907) has done a wonderful work on the Muduva tribe. *Brain, Bridge, R.B.* (1907) has illuminated the culture and rituals of Malto linguistic group. In 1965, *Hockings, Paul, E.* has written a book on Badaga's culture and rituals. During the latter period, it was identified that the culture of badaga has been slightly changed. Thus the scholars have tried to understand the quantum of changes found in their culture and their acceptance of modernity and

civilization. Such scholars were" *Hockings, Paul, E.* (1965) and others. In 1941, itself, *Mandelbaum, D.S.* has tried to study the social changes that have taken place among the tribes of Nilgiris. Similar works have also been done on some other tribes viz., Malayali by *Ehrezels, U.R. Philo Iruthayanath* and others. These works are being used as good reference sources even now.

## 6. Preparation of Manual on Aborigines

A number of Christian scholars have produced manuals (which tell 'all about the tribes') on the aborigines of various tribal groups. They have attempted to study their origin, occupation, life-style, social institutions, etc. In the 19th century, some of the notable works of this nature came out due to the efforts of some of the Christian missionaries. It is essential to mention here that many such manuals speak about the aborigines living in the Nilgiris. Thus it may not be a coloured statement if one says that the tribes living in Nilgiris have been studied exhaustively applying diversified perspectives by the Christian scholars. Following are some of the scholars who have done the useful job viz., writing manuals during the 19th century. They were:

1. Hodgson, Brain, Houghton (1856), *Aborigines of Nilgiris*
2. King, W.R. (1870), *Aborigines of Nilgiris*
3. Harkness, H. (1832) *Aboriginal Races of Nilgiris.*

Moreover, the scholars belonging to this century have also written some manuals on the aborigines of Nilgiris, Indian aborigines, Dravidian aborigines, etc. These works throw light on the origin, development and present state of affairs of many of the tribal communities.

*Chandler, John Saidder* (1900) has written a manual on Nilgiri tribes. Consequent to this work *Keane, A.H.* (1908) has written a manual on Dravidian aborigines. Similar studies have also been made on Indian aborigines by two scholars, viz., *Fuchr, Stephen* (1978) and *Gishert, P.* (1978).

## 7. Folklore Studies on Tribes

Folklore is a treasure of knowledge disseminated across generations through the oral tradition. On eliciting and analysing

the folk songs, folk tales, ballads, proverbs, riddles, etc. One can get a clear picture on the culture, customs, beliefs, tradition, heritage, etc. of a social community / tribal community.

Tribals have rich amount of folk literature and arts. Because, they were uneducated and rely upon the oral tradition every activity had to depend upon their spoken code only. Therefore they have good amount of folk usages - literature, arts, etc. The Christian scholars have not left this area also. Many scholars have collected folk songs and tales, which are considered as a mirror that reflects their social behaviour and analysed them systematically and explained the delicacies of their life.

*Cannor, Lt.* (1870), *Moegling, H.* (1870) and *Garaeter, A.* (1870) have collected the folk songs and tales of Coorg language. Following this, *Friend Periera, J.E.* (1899) and *Cole, E.T. (Rev.)* (1879) have collected folk songs / tales in Gondi and Malto respectively.

During this part of the century, many Christian scholars have collected folk songs of the tribes, viz., Kota, Toda, Kurukh, Badaga, etc. The scholars who did such type of work are:

1. Thompson, S. (1948) - Kota
2. Emeneau, M.B. (1937) & (1943) - Toda
3. Archer, W.G. (1943) - Kurukh
4. Hockings, Paul (1968) - Badaga.

These collections have helped many young scholars to analyse the tribal culture and to compare those songs / tales, etc. with those found among the non-tribes.

### **8. Surveys made on Tribal Groups/Languages/Dialects**

Apart from the publication of manuals, many prominent Christian scholars have made language surveys on Indo-Aryan languages and Dravidian languages, indicating the distribution of various minor linguistic groups and with relevant statistical information. This enables scholars to approach different linguistic groups living in different pockets of the nation, for their studies.

Among those surveys carried out during the 19th century, two notable surveys have been carried out by Christian scholars, viz.,

1. Cust, Robert Needham, 1890 Indian Languages
2. Oucterlony, J. 1848 Geographical and statistical survey of Nilgiris.

During this century a monumental survey was carried out by G.A. Grierson entitled 'Linguistic Survey of India' in 7 volumes. This work not only says 'all about' all linguistic groups but also presents a 'Skeleton Grammar' for all those languages identified. This was the first ever linguistic survey made in India covering all the language families. The team of workers under the leadership of Grierson undertook field work, made inquiries, collected materials and prepared the final report. This work with relevant prerequisites now helps us identify the languages and dialects, dialect areas and so on for undertaking descriptive and other types of research with reference to Indian languages and dialects. One is able to modernize the linguistic survey in the present-day context of the development of linguistic science. For such type of modernization also, one needs the basic and significant survey like that of Grierson's. Gohain, B.C. has surveyed the tribal settlements of various states of India. This will be helpful for the people to locate the places where tribals inhabit.

### 9. Translation Works with Reference to Tribal Languages

Translation is a process by which diversified knowledge/ideas/concepts/facts available in one language will be brought to other languages. Thus, translation of any piece will augment the enlightenment of the speakers of one language.

Tribal languages are primitive in nature. To translate any foreign concept into a tribal language it is essential to cultivate that tribal language by analysing, writing grammar and introducing the script system besides imparting literacy through that tongue.

Many of the Christian scholars with an intention to translate the Holy Bible have analysed many tribal languages. They have introduced the script of the Regional languages and translated into tribal languages. Gospel has also been translated in the tribal languages. For example, *Ciani John* (Mrs.) (1889) has translated the first epistle of *John* and *Luke's* Gospel into Koya language. Similarly



*Haig, F.* (1882) has translated in Koya language and *Frye, J.P.* (1893) has translated into the Gondi language.

During this century however, some translation works in tribal languages have been done by many of the Christian scholars. viz., *Evan, Helen, M.* (1982) and *Friend, Periera, J.E.* (1909) have translated into Kui language.

### 9. a. Preparation of Dictionary for Tribal Languages

For the purpose of understanding the tribal languages and to translate certain foreign concepts into the tribal language, certain Christian scholars have compiled Bilingual dictionaries during this century. (Hindi vs Tribal languages or Regional languages vs tribal languages). Some of them are mentioned below:

1. Crowther, Bishop (1913) 'Yoruba Dictionary'
2. Girard, Beryl (1965) 'Kurukh Dictionary'

Apart from these works, some amount of teaching materials have also been prepared in tribal languages by the Christian scholars with the aim to impart literacy through the regional language. The Bible translation work is now-a-days being carried out in many tribal languages by various Christian missionaries and translators.

### 10. Certain Observations and Suggestions

This short paper just presents a glimpse of the works in the form of major and minor contributions made by the Christians(s) missionaries and scholars at different periods in the study of tribal languages and related aspects. There is enormous scope to make an extensive and elaborate study. This paper has identified some of the vital areas of contribution made by them. The contributions based on our own evaluation makes explicit the following facts:

1. Many of the studies were pioneering and exploratory attempts.
2. Studies have been made with high degree of involvement and reverence and also with certain definite goals.
3. There is social and national relevance and significance for such studies.

4. These studies show a linkage among language, culture, communication and society, from the points of view of social change and development.
5. These studies that have been made present a variety of contributions for language, culture, communication and society.
6. The products obtained through these studies like dictionaries, grammars, comparative studies, Folklore materials, social and ethnological description, manuals, survey reports, translations, teaching material, etc. are all quite useful and necessary from the points of view of social and national development, particularly the development of the socially downtrodden and weaker sections.
7. These products are also significant for undertaking future research and survey as well as to identify the left-out areas of study. They also will help to consolidate the adequacy and formalization of the methods and models needed.
8. These studies have multi-disciplinary values and hence can help the researchers and experts to explore the strategies for such inter/multi-disciplinary research in future.
9. The works published are now used as basic resource materials and good reference works. So researches undertaken can yield fruitful results in future. Hence, the contribution made by the Christians in this area of study will go a long way in the developmental and modernization process of the tribal population of India.

There is more scope for undertaking major research projects to study adequately the contribution of Christians in these socially relevant areas. So, future researches can be devoted from different dimension to undertake more systematic, elaborate and meaningful researchers and surveys.

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- |                       |      |                            |
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- |                          |      |                               |
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- |                  |      |  |
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- |                          |      |  |
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|--------------------------|------|--|

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## 15

# CHRISTIANS AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Karuppaiyan

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### Introduction

The etymology of the word Anthropology is derived from anthropos meaning man and logos meaning science. As such anthropology is the science of man, nature and culture. It is a discipline which is concerned with the total study of man and his works. Generally speaking anthropology deals with origin and development of man and his culture. When we talk about the works of man it refers to the social life as well as the cultural life. Anthropological definition of culture explains, the complex whole of culture which includes knowledge, beliefs, customs, laws, language and other capabilities of man. As far as the development of social and cultural anthropology is concerned it is related to the discovery of the way of life of the simple people by explorers, travellers, traders and missionaries during 18th century. It is significant to note that following the Reformation, Christianity emerged as a tremendous missionary activity among the non-Christian people in Asia and Africa. In order to convey the Gospel to them, and to do so most efficiently and expeditiously, the Christian Missionaries had to undertake the study of the social and religious institutions of the simpler and rural folks among whom they went to work. The writings of these missionaries are universally well known and some of them have produced excellent works born out of their humanitarian and sympathetic attitudes (*Majumdar*; 1956). Such reports have formed part of anthropological source materials even today.

In addition, many reports of the British Colonial Administration prepared by its Christian Officials in Africa and India are also considered to be the valuable contribution for the development of anthropology.

An attempt has been made in this paper to review the most important contributions of the Christian scholars to the people of India, their culture and language.

### Early Anthropological Research in India

It is reported that the people of India have been fit into a three-fold classification namely the Aryan, the Dravidian and the Vindhya group by *Lassen* in 1876. It was *E.T.D alton* who made a decisive contribution by his excellent report on the tribes of Assam and Chota Nagpur in 1871-72. His works are said to be very instructive in providing fundamental somatic facts based on observation and he has used the term 'Nishadas' for the jungle tribes.

### Development of Scientific Anthropology in India

The name of Bengal will ever be remembered by the scientific world because it was from there that the Chief impetus came for anthropological studies in India. Apart from the initiative taken by Calcutta University in 1920-21, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded by *Sir William Jones* in the latter part of the 18th Century, began to publish a journal devoted to social and cultural anthropology (*Krishna Iyer*; 1961).

During the latter part of the 19th century, the work of *Harkness* was the first ethnography on the Todas of Nilgris. The first scientific anthropological research was done by *Jago* among the Kanikkars, the Kurumbas, the Veddahs and others.

In 1888, *Fred Faweett's* work on the 'Savaras' of Ganjan appeared. He latter published memoirs on the Nambudiris, the Nayars and the Kurumbas. *Emile Schmidt* made a survey of the tribes of South India and Ceylon in 1889-90. He first discovered that "the linguistic groups in India do not coincide at all with uniform racial groups" and he has explained the problem from a purely somatics point of view. *Ibbetson*, who organized the Census operations in Punjab, in 1891, attempted to study social and

religious usages, but it was not a complete success. In the same period, Lapieque made a study of the Vellalas, the parayas and the Cherumars.

### **British Administrators and their Contribution on Indian Tribal People**

Risley, who organized the Census of 1891, was the first to collect and publish on tribes and castes of Bengal including Assam and Orissa. He tried to identify languages with physical differences and cultures. He reported that there were basic structural differences between the Aryan and prakrit languages on one hand, and the Dravidian languages on the other. It was during this time, Grigson conducted linguistic survey in India and came out with a book entitled 'Peasant Life in Bihar'.

The years 1895-1950 witnessed the publication of a number of volumes on the castes and tribes in India and many of those contributions were made under the leadership of British Administrators who were Christians by religion. In 1896, William Crooks published the Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces and the Natives of Northern India in 1907. One can not forget the ethnographic contribution of W H.R.Rivers who published his book on The Todas in 1906. The publications of Edgar Thurston and Rangachari in seven volumes on the castes and tribes of South India are even now considered to be the most important source books for the students of anthropology in India. Thurston also published two monographs (i) *Omens and Superstitions of South India* and (ii) *Ethnographic Notes on South India*.

In 1916, R.V. Russell and Hiralal published four volumes on the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India. In 1922, R.E.Enthoven published 'The Castes and Tribes of Bombay' in three volumes. In 1938 W.V.Grigson published on the Maria Gonds of Bastar. Gurdon wrote his classic book on the Khasis in 1912. Hutton's works on the Angami Nagas, the Sema Nagas in 1921 and Caste in India in 1945 were added to anthropological literature in India. In 1931 Hutton was asked to direct the Census Operations and planned to bring out ethnographic volumes on different regions in India.



## Varrier Elwin (1902-1964) - A Great Missionary on Anthropology

*Educated at Meston College, Oxford Dr. Verrier Elwin was an Authority on Indian tribal people. He wrote classical monographs on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh. He wrote anthropological best-sellers, founded the Bhumijan Seva Mandal, married a Gond and mastered the tribal language. *Phulmat of the Hills* (1937) is a novel based on aboriginal life, about a Gond girl who became a leprosy patient. His monographs included *The Baiga* (1934), *The Agaria* (1942), *Muria Murder and Suicide* (1943), *Tribal Art in Middle India*, *The Folktales of Mahakoshal* (1944), *Folksongs of Chattisgarh*, *The Muria and the Ghotul* (1947), *Bondo Highlanders* (1951) *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, *Myths of the North-East Frontier of India*, *Religion of an Indian Tribe*, and *A Philosophy for the North East Frontier* (1959). *The Baiga* was the first book on an Indian tribe to discuss sex freely and his works on Saoras's religion are considered as real classics in Anthropology (*Krishna Iyer*; 1961).*

*Shamrao Hivale, Elwin's biographer and Colleague describes him that Elwin as one endowed with the capacity to describe several matters concerning tribal institutions, tribal arts etc., in a lucid language that would captivate the readers, by giving plenty of facts and figures, without allowing them to swamp his narrative.*

*Elwin had insight, sympathy and a deep fund of humanity. He lived with the people and wrote on their way of life. It was these Qualities which brought him closer to Jawaharlal Nehru who made Elwin as a consultant anthropology to the Government of India. He was awarded Padma Bhushan in 1961.*

## U.R. Ehrenfels, Former Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras.

*Similar to Elwin, Ehrenfels studied the Chenchus, the Kadar of Cochin and he is also known for his study of matriliney. He was author of *Mother-Right in India* (1941). The Kadar of Cochin and the Light Continent. When he was teaching anthropology in the University of Madras in the early 1960s he trained Dr.M.S. Gopalakrishnan who again shaped the author of this paper as a professional anthropologist.*

## Contributions of Christian Anthropologist to Village Studies in India

One cannot forget the works of a well known British woman anthropologist Kathleen Gough who studied a Tanjore village and reported on the caste structure at the village level and she has also written on the Nayar matrilineal kinship along with her co author *David M. Schneider* (1972). As early as 1955 *McKim Marriott* studied a village called Kishan Garhi and he reported on the ritual process of great and little traditions under the title '*Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization*'. One can also remember the works of *F.G. Bailey* who has published his book entitled '*Caste and Economic Frontier*'. Similarly *A.C. Mayer's* book on Caste and Kinship in Central India is also a valuable contribution to understand a village and its region. It is significant to note that *Oscar Lewis* who has reported the village life in Northern India - Rampura (1958) explains the group dynamics and Jajmani system in an Indian village.

The recent contribution of a Canadian woman anthropologist, *Dr. Brenda E.F. Beck* and her book on '*Peasant Society in Konku*' is a study of right and left sub-castes in South India (1972). The book is found to be useful for field research in Tamil Nadu. The books entitled '*Society in India*' (2 volumes) written by *David G. Mandelbaum* are being considered as encyclopaedia on villages in India by the students of anthropology. Of course there are good number of works on peasant society in India written by many Christian anthropologists. It is a difficult task to review all such contribution.

### Dr. Pilo Irudhayanath and his Contributions to Anthropology in Tamil Nadu

*Dr. Pilo Irudhaiyanath* was a popular anthropologist in Tamil Nadu and he visited almost all the tribal areas in Tamil Nadu. His visits to the tribal areas in Nilgiris district and Kongu region have been reported in his books. Though the books are in the form of a travelogue, they form part of anthropological contributions explaining the adventurous life of the tribal people and their cultural heritage. In addition he used to collect many of the artefacts of the tribal people including household and agricultural tools and

their hunting tools and weapons. He had also collected selected ornaments and dress materials of the tribal people of Tamil Nadu and they were preserved in his personal museum. He was appreciated for his popular anthropological reporting by academic and professional anthropologists.

**Constantine Joseph Beschi - G.U.Pope - Robert De Nobili - Fr. Constant Lievens - their contribution to Tamil Culture**

*Fr. Beschi* was a dedicated missionary. His contributions to Tamil literature and Tamil culture are to be treated as the source material for writings in linguistic anthropology and folklore which are considered to be the important branches of anthropology. His writings on medicine are also used by anthropologists for understanding the indigenous medicine and healthcare practices of the natives of Tamil Nadu. The most important aspect of *Fr. Beschi's* life is that he learned the natives language - Tamil and lived with them and started writing for them. It is considered as the true spirit of an anthropologist.

One cannot forget the contribution of *G.U.Pope* whose work on '*The Sacred Kural of Thiruvalluvar Nayanar*' gives a detailed account of the ethical moral values in a society known for its own culture. An anthropologist or a sociologist can understand from such contributions on institutional norms dos and don'ts and the cultural goals.

*Fr. Constant Lievens* (1856-1893) began his life as a Jesuit priest teaching Catechism to the school children of the tribal community called the Munda and the Oraon in Orissa and Bihar. Hearing the plight of the tribals in Chotanagpur area, he used to help the tribals from the exploitation by the money lenders and the Zamindars of the area. Moreover, he studied the land system and the traditional rights of the tribal people as a true anthropologist.

*Fr. Robert de Nobili*, better known in India under his Tamil name *Thathuva Podagar Swami* - the teacher of reality. His works on Indian caste system with particular reference to the Brahmanic way of life has to be considered as anthropological and sociological contribution on society in India.

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## CHRISTIANS AND EDUCATION OF THE DISABLED

Sr. Rita Mary

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The history of our culture is marked by man's slow, faltering, and at times haphazard frustrating and irrational struggle towards enlightenment, and the history of the education of the disabled is no exception to this general rule. The history of the art of educating the disabled does not properly begin until the sixteenth century. In order properly to appreciate the difficulties and prejudices with which they were confronted, it is necessary to review the condition of the disabled before and during this time.

### Retrospect

In the pre-Christian era, when *Aristotle* (forth century B.C.), the great Greek natural philosopher's influence and authority were thought supreme, the disabled were considered to be quite uneducable and as such were denied not only the legal, but religious rights as well. The authority of *Aristotle* was increased when his system was bound up with that of the Christian church. *Pliny* and *Hippocrates* were others who influenced the society of that time with their teachings. Thus the condition of the disabled was based on the thoughts of those philosophers, physicians, divines and jurists whose authority was admitted in all matters within their respective spheres.

In some countries their condition was so pitiable, that they were even denied the right to live. In Spartans and Athens, they were put to death along with others who were considered a liability and burden on the State. The Roman law, the code of Justinian,

Herbrew and the Medieval laws denied all legal and civil rights to their disabled citizens. The handicap of blindness being a visual handicap and the blind could communicate with the society their condition was better than the deaf whose handicap is invisible. The deaf were considered as citizens lacking intellectual power.

Beyond what we find in the Mosaic Law, not to 'curse' the deaf and the fact that in the time of our Lord dumbness was attributed to demoniacal possession, and blindness to sin the Scriptures throw no light on their condition.

Except for prohibition regarding their destruction, the attitude towards the disabled remained unchanged for several centuries of the Christian era.

The views of the Christian church were also adverse to the capacity of the deaf for instruction.

The canon law also held that a deaf-mute was incapable of celebrating the mass, because it was considered necessary to pronounce the words of the consecration of the *Eucharist*. Nevertheless, by a decree of *Pope Innocent III* (twelveth century) deaf-mutes were not prevented from contracting marriage if they had sufficient sence to show by sings.

*St. Augustine* said "We fully admit how much (punishment) is due to our own sins: But when you also deny that we are liable for original sin, you must answer this: What merit is there in such great innocence when one is born blind or dumb?" The Apostle says, 'Faith Cometh by hearing' and therefore deafness hinders faith itself. That the church held the dogmas of religion could only be taught in the inspired words of the *Bible*. *Bonet* a chuster writer and the first writer on the deaf writing on the text cited by *St. Aug.* 'the knowledge is given and received by hearing'. So the publication of *Bonet's* treatise was approved of by the spiritual censor as likely to promote the spiritual welfare of deaf-mutes and to enable them to take the Sacrement.

*St. Francis de Sales* about the Year 1604, took into his house a deaf-mute Youth, taught him the doctrines of the church, taught him to confess himself by signs, and admitted him to the commission. It could be mentioned that the order of *St. Jerome*,

taught the elements of painting to a deaf-mute and in 1568, he became painter to *Philip II*, and also undertook work for the monastery and the church.

Thus *St. Francis de Sales* and some other christians rose above the prejudices of their times in their treatment of the deaf.

A mention must be made of an incident related by *Bede* in his *Ecclesiastical History*. When *John* was Bishop of Hexham, was in the habit of retiring on certain occasions with a few disciples to a place in the neighbourhood for prayer and reading. At such times, he used to have some sorely afflicted person with him that he might minister to his wants. One of these was a deaf and dumb youth in whom the bishop took a paternal interest. He attempted to teach him to speak but he attributed a miraculous character to it.

During the 16th Century *Ponce-de-Leon*, a Benedictine monk taught some sons of great lords, notable people to speak, read, write, to pray, to assist at the mass to know the doctrines of the Christianity and to know how to confess themselves by speech. During 17th Century *John Wallis*, by profession a clergyman who was Secretary to the Westminster Assembly of Divines taught deaf to read the English Bible.

During the 18th Century, *Lorenzo Heroas Panduro*, a Jesuit Missionary in America, during his residence in Italy took a practical interest in the education of the deaf and wrote 5 volumes on the subject.

Most of these early educators confined themselves to the education of a privileged few.

It was in the later half of the 18th century that formal education was thought of. *Abble de l' Epee*, a clergyman in paris founded the first public school for the deaf, to serve everyone who needed help.

In South Africa at Cape Town, in connection with St. Bridget's Roman Catholic Mission, and at Kings William's Town, at the Convent Mission School some provision for the disabled was also made.



## India

In Ancient India, the deaf were taken care of by kings. During the reign of Emperors *Ashoka* and *Harsha*, the handicapped persons used to get alms and protection. Even the Muslim Emperors followed the system of the Hindus. They were generally considered uneducable and lived on charity or were taken care of by the joint family system. A large portion of the income of the State was set aside for the maintenance of the disabled.

The idea of care was naturally quite different in those days but the handicapped person was not ridiculed or neglected by the rulers. The Maratha rulers and the peshwas, sometimes employed deaf people as their spies. Copies of confidential correspondence were made by deaf-mutes.

The first school for the deaf in India was started by the catholics at Bombay in 1884. In 1962, a Deafness Project was started at the Christian Medical College and Hospital in Vellore under the leadership of Dr.Y.P. Kapur and a centre was added on to this project for making available diagnostic and rehabilitation services.

The first schools for the Blind, the Deaf and the Mentally retarded in the Southern States were started by Christians and today there are several schools ranging from clinical services to college level education. Perhaps the most significant fact about the education of the disabled in India today is, many are getting some opportunities, though the quality of education varies. There has been a gradual increase in the number of disabled children attending schools for non disabled children.

There are more special schools and rehabilitation centers in the Southern States compared to that are in Northern States. The North-Eastern and North-Western States lack provisions and this may be due to the fact that missionaries have not penetrated these areas.

The credit goes to christians for improving the status of the disabled all over the world and it is gratifying to note that some of the best institutions for the handicapped in India today are run by the Christians.

## Future

The Kothari Commission pointed out the need for change in the attitude of educating the disabled. It said "The education of handicapped children had to be organised not merely on humanitarian grounds, but also on grounds of utility".

Out of 12 million disabled persons, 2.6 million (1.2 LH, 0.74 Million SH, 0.53 Million HH and 0.12 Million VH, 10% have more than one handicap) fall in the age group 4-15 years. To this should be added 1.7 million MH children not covered in the survey of the disabled persons carried out in 1986. The total disabled children falling in the UPE age group comes to 4.3 million.

Out of this 1.4 million children fall in the age group 0-4 years which is relevant for identification, diagnosis, assessment, early stimulation and preparation for education. The disabled needing education and vocational rehabilitation subsequently are also to be considered.

The National Commission on Teachers - I reports that "not more than 5 per cent of the blind and deaf children and, perhaps, 0.50 percent of the mentally retarded" are estimated to be "in about 800-1000 special schools". Most of these schools are located in the metropolitan cities and other urban centers. Rural areas where about 80 per cent of these children are located remain practically unserved by educational facilities. Even coverage in common schools under the IED scheme is paltry 7000 children. Obviously, the coverage is negligibly small.

Apart from the quantitative gap in educational coverage of this group the qualitative aspect also needs improvement. Many of the institutions are run by Christians. While there are some very good Christian Institutions, many do not have trained staff, adequate accommodation and the necessary equipment and material. Some of these institutions are like homes for destitutes rather than educational institution, and these need to come up to the level that is possible today.

The National policy of Education stipulates that wherever possible education of children with locomotor handicap and other mild handicaps will be common with that of others. The children

with severe handicaps are proposed to be enrolled in special schools with hostels at district headquarters. Appropriate arrangements for pre-school preparation for the handicapped children and vocational preparation in common with others as well as in special vocational centers have also been envisaged.

Today early detection provides encouraging progress in the assessment of very young disabled children. Therefore the age of admission is lowered and the standard of instruction is raised that many disabled children are able to study with their non-disabled brethren. Therefore there is a need for good parent-infant programmes and pre-schools. Some voluntary agencies not run by Christians have established these essential programmes. There is a need for updating our Christian services for the disabled.

The disabled children have a right to education and the Christian educational institutions should help in integrating these children in their schools. This movement of integration was already promoted in the 18th century by a Christian, *Johann Baptist Gracer* who founded an experimental school for the deaf as a department of an ordinary school. As education in special schools is very costly we have to ensure, that only those children whose needs cannot be met in common schools are enrolled in these schools. As soon as the disabled children enrolled in special schools are ready for integration, they could be transferred into common schools.

This programme will benefit less disabled children in ordinary schools, promoting equal opportunities with their normal peers, making place for severely handicapped children in special schools. It is assumed that with the improved efficiency of the common school system as a consequence of the implementation of the National Policy on Education the capacity of the common schools to cater to the needs of the disabled children will also improve.

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## CHRISTIANS AND JOURNALISM

J. Josephine

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The history of Tamil journalism is explicitly the history of printing in India.

It was a happy accident that technical expertise in printing destined to Abyssinia from Portugal on the request of the Abyssinian Emperor stayed in Goa in 1556. Within two months the first printing press was set up. According to historian J.B.Primrose it was set up in the college of St.Paul, Goa.

The first book printed in Goa was *St.Francis Xavier's "Doctrina Christa"* (1557), an exposition of the articles of the Apostles Creed. It was printed by a Spaniard, *Joao de Bustante* with the help of an Indian assistant trained in printing at Lisbon.

But printing in Tamil precedes these developments. It is established that "*The Cartilha*", printed in Lisbon (in Roman script) was the first printed work in any Indian language. It is stated that *Nazareth Cavalco* and *Thomas de Cruz*, converts to christianity from the pearl fishing coast, helped in translating the psalms and hymns.

The earliest printing in any Indian language in India was the "*Doctrina Christiana*" of 16 pagers translated into Tamil by *Fr.Henriques* and *Fr.Monoel de Sao Pedro* and printed at Quilon. *Fr.Henriques*, an accomplished linguist continued the work of *St.Francis Xavier* in South India till his death in 1600. The second printing press was set-up in Tamilnadu in 1578, however, further progress in the field was abominably tardy.

There were reasons for this. First of all, in contrast to the relatively more democratic communication methods in the West during this period, the power structure in India, as we have seen, relegated reading and writing to the elite classes. Naturally, this inhibited the spread of printing/journalistic activity among the masses. The growth of indigenous journalistic activity was also stunted by orthodox Hindus who opposed printing technology itself on religious grounds. They argued, for instance, that sacred texts would be defiled if printed with ink that contained animal fat. Yet another reason for the slow development of printing was the limited scope of the early works of literature, because of the prevalent illiteracy and conditions of poverty and ignorance.

The earliest presses were all set up by the Portuguese ecclesiastics with the sole intention of educating Church members in the christian faith. It should be pointed out here that religious literature meant for the masses, for evangelising came only after the British came to India.

The Indian communication scene is unique in many ways. The cultural/linguistic groups have different traditional cultural forms of communication. These forms were effectively used much before the western oriented mass media were brought to India. Each linguistic region had and has its own festivals, rituals and cultural-performing arts. Traditionally these arts have been the instruments of our persuasion, it is our folklore. The traditional anthropology of communication has always been retained as a living culture. It is an oral tradition (by word of mouth), which has been characterised by a capacity to 'hear' truth, to be open to intuitive judgement and mystic revelations. In such a society the power and emotional force of the spoken word has always been at work and is manifested in the integrity of familial kinship and social relationships.

There is also a culturally unifying dynamism with most of the Indian sub-continent through the common religio-philosophical ideas expressed through Sanskrit, which is the dominant and pervasive Hindu influence. A good communicator with a sincerity of purpose is bound to recognise and understand the cultural fabric of a people. The Vatican II document in the

*"Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non Christian Religions"*, instructs clearly by stating "Let Christians, while witnessing to their own faith and way of life acknowledge, preserve and encourage the spiritual and moral truths found among non-Christians also their social life and culture". One of those authentic Christian communicators to recognise this truth was Fr. *Robert de Nobili* (1577-1656), who arrived in India, Goa in May 1605, who lived at the College of St. Paul and later on moved to Cochin and from there to Madura. Nobili realising the local people's contempt for the foreigner's culture, adapted himself to Indian cultural ways accepted by the community. He Indianised himself to become part of the community and to serve the people. He became popular by following Indian customs and ways of life and also through his mastery of the Tamil and Sanskrit languages. He soon became a friend of the ruler of Madura, *Tirumala Nayak* and won his support. He appreciated the Indian cultural forms and made people praise *Christ* and *Mother Mary* through dance and song (Tamil hymns). As *Ka. Naa. Subramanyam* has pointed out, *Robert de Nobili's* efforts were, "to pull down, the walls of the separate ghettos behind which the Christians and Hindus were hiding. He tried to adapt his Christianity to the life of the people around him". He became a Hindu Sadhu in outlook and habits and contributed to the general characteristics of the period. *Nobili's* task as a communicator was to dissociate Christianity from European culture and to include the upper castes of Tamil society so that whole populace could be reached with his message. He also wanted the people believe that he respected their culture. He realised that the most effective way to communicate his message to the people was through his own life. In fact it was an experiment in effective communication that he carried on with a practical approach by building his church in the Indian style, took to brahminical dress habits (of course with a crucifix attached to the sacred thread). But without compromising his Christian faith. He encouraged the new comers to the faith to follow his example and not be displaced from their community or ostracized from their caste. But it was ironical that most of the time *De Nobili* was drawn into controversies to defend his method of communication with other missionaries and before the authorities in Rome. However, he established the fact that religious

communication can be carried on outside the European political and commercial influence.

Following *Fr. De Nobili*, *Fr. Constantius Beschi*, yet another missionary of the Society of Jesus, appeared on the Tamil scene in 1707. He studied Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit at Avoor in Trichy District. His greatest achievement was the first Tamil dictionary "*Caturakaradi*". *Beschi* was also the first one to reform the Tamil written script, the first grammarian of the spoken word, the first anthologist and prose writer. Among the missionaries of Tamilnadu he had achieved a high degree of scholarship in Tamil.

Though *Beschi* followed his predecessor *De Nobili* in adapting to Indian cultural habits, he was a pragmatist, leading an active and influential life in the local community.

In contrast to this the Portuguese who were the first to come to India with political and commercial interests also carried on religious communication. They established churches and educational institutions. In the words of *Kenneth Scott Latourette*, "The Portuguese regime both aided and embarrassed Roman Catholic missions". This is because the Portuguese often forced the subjects within their territories to receive religious instruction. It is said that in some instances the people were assured protection from the onslaught of Muslims only on condition that they converted to christianity. The Portuguese officials in many cases offered money, gifts or married women of the lower castes.

As observed by *Latourette*: "To the controlling classes of Hindu, this Roman Catholicism..... seemed to be a mercenary religion and only for the common folk". In fact it was the arrival of *St. Francis Xavier*, (1506-1552) a co-founder of the Society of *Jesus*, that religious communication was divorced off military, political and economic influences.

The beginning of 18th century saw yet another equally important development in the Coramandel Coast. This could be called the protestant effort in communication and technology. The role objective of these efforts was to save soul from "*Heathen hegemony*" and *Martin luther* furnished both the ammunition to convert the natives to protestantism and also the other aspect of saving souls from the clutches of Roman Catholic priests.

Through the negotiation of two Danish merchants the Danish missionaries had purchased a strip of land from the king of Tanjore with a plan to spread protestantism in India. One of the most outstanding missionaries who came to India from Denmark was *Ziegenbalg* (born in 1688). His is a name to be cherished in the history of early printing in India. He acquainted himself with the Tamil literary and philosophical works and translated the *New Testament* (directly from Greek) into Tamil and completed the work by 1711.

The year 1713 marked yet another milestone in the field of printing with the arrival of three type-founders from Halle. In 1714 *Ziegenbalg's*, first translated part of the *New Testament*, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. It was printed at the mission press. Due to scarcity of paper the second part was printed in smaller type. *Ziegenbalg* also undertook the translation of the *Old Testament* which remained incomplete because of his death in 1719. Earlier *Ziegenbalg* had appealed for the donation of a printing press which arrived in 1712 and thus the first printing press was established in Tamilnadu. Following this development, Tamil letter types were engraved by his German friends and the first printing work was started in Tamil in Tranquebar on January 5, 1713.

Thus it was the religious communicators, particularly the christian missionaries who contributed greatly to the development of printing in Tamil and other Indian languages. They also developed the linguistic structuring of the languages. We have seen earlier the contributions made by some of the missionaries to Tamil language and literature.

Another outstanding German missionary who is almost a house hold name in the history of Tamil printing is *Johann Philipp Fabricius* who fifty years after the printing of *Ziegenbalg's New Testament* completed the Bible in Tamil for the first time in 1796. He also published a hymn book and an English Tamil dictionary.

Developments in the field of printing technology, systematic structuring of Tamil language and the Zeal of the missionaries contributed to the publication of books in Tamil. However the first Tamil periodical "*Tamil Patrika*" was published by the Religious Tract Society in 1831 in Madras. It continued till 1833. "*Dina*



*Varthamani*", a weekly was published in 1856 by Rev. P. Percival at the Dravidian Press in Madras. It had a circulation of about 1000 copies. The early periodicals were started with the sole purpose of communicating religious news to the public. But once the beginning was made any number of Tamil newspapers and periodicals were started to serve the socio-political and economic interests of Tamils. As the secular publications gained momentum and popularity the scope and influence of christian publications diminished.

The beginning of 19th century brought in a sea of missionary activity of a totally different temperament from their predecessors. It was stirred by the fervor of evangelical movement. Establishment of educational institutions, hospitals, homes for the poor and destitutes and to the oppressed and the downtrodden and also adopted an aggressive approach in their task of conversion. But as Ka. Naa. Subramanyam points out, "of course there was conversion to christianity but it was never alarmingly large or impressively effective". All the efforts of the missionaries to convert people into Christianity has accounted for only 2.5 percent Christians in the country. But their contributions to mass communication through interpersonal communication through the print media has been phenomenal. There is no aspect of communication that was left unattempted by the over zealous missionaries. For eg., one of the methods extensively used by protestants from the earliest period to attract audiences was the singing of hymns or ballad narratives of incidents from the Bible. They were set to melodious music to attract both the village and town people. Song and dance performances were staged in the public places and Christian bhajans were popularised.

Towards the end of 19th century the press which became a powerful mass medium developed with a definite purpose of promoting the nationalist movement after the establishment of Indian national Congress in 1885. The beginning of 20th century saw the emergence of the other media of communication such as press radio and in the 1950's television also came on the mass media scene in India. Christian endeavours in the new communication scenario were negligibly minimal as the press and cinema

developed as mass based industry and the radio and television were brought under the control of the Government. Political motives and commercial interests dominate the mass media communication environment today. At the same time the real and presumed power and influence of mass media on society is increasing. The new technologies have made the media all pervasive. Recognising the growing influence of the mass media, the Vatican Council II, passed a "*Decree on the Means of Social Communication*" in 1963", stating that..... The church, our mother, is particularly interested in those which directly touch man's spirit and which have opened up new avenues of easy communication of all kinds of news, of ideas and orientations. Chief among them are those means of communication which of their nature can reach and influence not merely single individuals but the very masses and even the whole of human society".

The council thoroughly examined the importance of the means of social communication and stressed the need for education and training of personned to be *formed with Christian spirit*, specially in respect of the Church's social teaching. It also emphasised the need to educate the audience particularly the youth to develop a critical approach towards media programmes and be not passive recipients of all that is offered.

In response to this Decree, episcopal commissions or Bishops were appointed to head national offices to be responsible for the means of social communication.

In Tamilnadu, the Tamilnadu Catholic Bishops commission, realising the tremendous expansion and influence of the media of communication such as Press, Radio, Television, Films, Video, Theatre etc. commissioned the Santhome Communication Centre, the working wing of the commission for Social Communication with the objective of reinforcing the obligation of social responsibility of the media of communication in a society like ours. The Centre has developed various programmes over the years to intervene and emphasise the responsibility that is there on the part of the people involved in the mainstream media not to misuse them and not to misguide the audience. Annual awards to film makers, writers, journalists etc. for promoting human/gospel values

through their works and creations are given thereby recognising their commitment in the profession. The centre also organises courses and training programmes to impart professional skills and motivate people to use the media with responsibility and reinforce the media professionals' obligation to society. The centre also produces radio programmes for the Tamil Section of 'Radio Veritas', Manila, a Radio station of the Asian Bishops council. It has a large listenership in Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka.

Social communication programme is very much part of the church's action programme in most of the dioceses in Tamilnadu. Kalai Kaviry in Trichy, and 'Sadangai' in Madurai have made a mark in this direction.

Cultural and communication, Loyola College, Madras, is a communication unit of Jesuits to promote better standards in the field of culture and social communication through research, training programmes, workshops, seminars and discussions.

It should be pointed out here that it has not been possible for church to compete with the established media in the society. However efforts are made to intervene wherever possible to promote alternative media to make its marks in the field of social communication.

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## VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

N. Balusamy

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I deem it a privilege to have been called upon to deliver the Valedictory Address to this August assemblage. The three-day National Seminar is the first of the three-phased series organised by Dr. Innasi, Prof. & Head of the Department of Tamil Christian Literature in the University of Madras. Dr. Innasi is an erudite scholar and eminent Researcher. His width of knowledge of Tamil Language and Literature, particularly of Christian works is stupendous and worthy of applause. His organising capacity is wonderful. He is a prolific writer and a pleasant and fruitful conversationalist.

This national seminar has been arranged on completion of ten years of the establishment of the Chair on Tamil Christian Literature in the Madras University of which he is the head from the beginning. In other words, Dr. Innasi is celebrating the Decennium of his Dept. Over a period of ten years, he has achieved so much by way of publications, guidance to the Researchers etc., which others, I am sure, would have taken double the time to achieve the same. Therefore Dr. Innasi has done full justice to the job entrusted to him by, the authorities of the University.

To conduct a seminar of this magnitude is not an easy task. Almost all the Indian Languages have been represented in this gathering. The participant selected for reading papers are of national repute. The papers have been carefully prepared and they were thought - provoking. The key-note address was given by no less a person then Dr.K.M.George, an internationally known

scholar. His soul-stirring and scintillating speech was well received by the delegates and the audience.

Every religion, indigenous or alien, has done much to the development of Tamil Language and literature in particular, and to Indian Languages in general. The Impact of Christianity on the Indian Literatures is very wide and intense: In the areas of Drama, Novel, Short-story, Prose, Epics and Grammar, Christian Scholars both foreign and local have done yeomen service

By way of supplementing and complementing to what has been said by my learned friends regarding the Tamil Language and Literature, I may be permitted to say a few things left out by others. The 18th and 19th centuries were a golden period for the development of Tamil Studies. It was the good fortune of Tamil Language to have had a galaxy of foreign Christian Missionaries who arrived in succession in Tamil Nadu to propagate the limits of Christianity. In the words of Prof. M.S. Poornalingam Pillai who wrote for the first time a connected and succinct history of Tamil Literature in English, "Danish Missionaries like Ziegenbalg, Jesuit-Missionaries like Robert De Nobili and Joseph Beschi, Anglican Missionaries like Dr. Rottler & Dr. Caldwell, Dissenters like Housington, Rhenius, and Winslow, Civilians like Ellis and Stokes, Military Officers like Mahon and Colonels Brown, and Bell and a host of other Scholars directed their attention to the study of Tamil Grammar, Poetry, and Vocabulary". Now let us see their individual contributions.

### **Ziegenbalg (1663-1719)**

He was a Dane. He arrived at Tarankampadi in Thanjavur District. The Danish Mission there was founded by him. He authored a Tamil Grammar and a Tamil Bible.

### **Robert De Nobili**

He established a Mission at Madurai. He dressed himself as a local Brahmin. He was called as *Tatwa Bhodha Swamy*. A good number of local people were converted by him to Christianity. He was a Scholar-Saint. He hailed from an Italian Noble family. He mastered Sanskrit and Tamil. Gnanopathesa Kandam, Mantra Malai etc. were his famous Tamil works. He passed away in 1656.

### Beschi (1680-1746)

He came from Italy. He was a Jesuit father. He began his missionary work in Tirunelvely District. He donned the robes of a Hindu Guru. He rummaged the classical Tamil Literature, Grammar, Prosody, Poetics, and whatnot, under reputed scholars of the day. His *magnum Opus* is the celebrated epic *Thembavani*. This work is matchhded with Jeevaka Chintamani and Kambaramayana in many respects. The variety of incidents, the historical and traditional elements, the quintessence of the Testaments, the marvellous diction and the sweep of imagination and allied archetectonics of an epic of his work are matchless. In the midst of his literary engagements, he did not lose sight of his prime duty of religions propagation. His other works in Tamil are: Thonnul Vilakkam, Santamil and Koduntamil etc. He had translated Thirukkural into Latin. Paramartha Guru Kathai, Veda Vilakkam, Vedyar Olukkum, Thirukkavalur Kalambakam, Adaikkala Malai etc are also his popular works in Tamil. In short, Beschi had done more than any other foreign missionary to the development of Tamil Stories. He was popularly and fondly called Veerama Munivar. To illustrate his poetic genius which surpasses even that of the great Kambar, the following verse in *Thembavani* may be noted:

"சல்லை ஏற்றலும் கவனினைச் சுழற்றலும் அக்கல்  
ஒல்லை ஓட்டலும் ஒருவரும் காண்கிலர் இடிக்கும்  
செல்லை ஒத்தன சிலைநுதற் பாய்தலும் அன்னாள்  
எல்லை பாய்ந்து இருள்இரிந்தென வீழ்தலும் கண்டார்"

Beschi

This is in connection with the fight between David and Goliath. In a different context Kambar versifies like this:

"தடுத்திலாமையால் இருந்தவர் தாளின்  
மடுத்தது நாளுதி வைத்தது நோக்கார்  
சுடுப்பினில் யாரும் அறிந்திலா' கையால்  
எடுத்தது கண்டனர் இற்றது கேட்டார்"

Kambar

When we compare the above two verses we have to appreciate the poetic excellence and the deep insight into Tamil culture and genius of Joseph Beschi.

**Rev. C.T.E. Rheniues**

He wrote a Tamil Grammar in 1853. He used to find fault with some of the literary perception of his predecessors, forgetting that they were the pioneers in their field. He was the fore runner to Dr.G.U.Pope in many respects.

**Rev. G.U.Pope 1820-1907**

He was a product of the famous Balliol College, Oxford. He was a widely read missionary. His knowledge of Tamil was incredibly stupendous. He regularly contributed to the Royal Asiatic Quarterly, The Indian Antiquary, The Indian Magazine and Review on the importance of Tamil Language and Literature. He was largely responsible to make the English Public know all about the Tamil Language. The entire text of Manimekalai was translated into chaste English. His other English renderings were Kural, Naladiar and Thiruvachakam with beautiful introduction and Concordance.

The Arch Bishop of Canterbury honoured him with a Doctorate and the Oxford University with an M.A. Degree. Thirunelveli, Madurai, Thanjavur were some of his places of work and his religious mission was equally fruitful.

**Ellis**

He is an Englishman. He was collector of Madras for sometime. His knowledge of Sanskrit and Tamil was of a high order. He translated the first 13 chapters of Tirukkural into English and wrote lucid commentaries thereto. In his commentaries he had quoted excerpts from Chintamani, Purananuru, Naladiar, Maha Bharatham etc. This shows his extensive study of the various Tamil genres. To the misfortune of the Tamils, he could not live long to annotate the remaining chapters of Tirukkural.

He was well-versed in composing Tamil poems. Once he wanted to pay his tributes to the learned Ramachandra Kavirayer and he immediately composed the following verse:

"செந்தமிழ்ச் செல்வனும் ஓராயி ரந்தலைச் சேடனும் யாழ்  
கந்தரத் தோடிசை வல்லோனும் யாவரும் தோத்திரம் செய்  
கந்தனைச் சொல்லும் கவிராமச் சந்திரனைக் கண்டு வெட்கி  
அந்தர வெற்பிழி பாதாளம் தேடி அடங்கினரே"

This is composed in a very peculiar and difficult metre called "Kattalaikkalitturai". Such was his mastery of Tamil Prosody.

**Right Rev. Dr. Robert Caldwell (1814-1891)**

He was an Irish by birth. He was a product of Glasgow College. He joined the London Mission. He came to Madras for missionary work. He settled down at Idayankudy, Tirunelvely District and began his religious work. Many local people joined his fold. His *Magnum Opus* is "*A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*" This made him known throughout Europe. He was the first Philologist who brought out the several similarities between Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannadam and Tulu. He wrote a prose work called "Narkkarunai Thiyana Malai".

Apart from these stalwarts mentioned above, there were others who did yeomen service to Tamil such as Percival, Taylor, Fabricius, Clark, Rottler, Dr. Winslow, Dr. Drew etc. To conclude, I may add that this unique seminar has served its purpose adequately in that a true national character has been projected here. Religions and Languages basically serve as a unifying force rather than disintegrating. We are all assembled here from different language groups and religious faiths. But yet there is a discernible chord of unity of purpose, emotion, and culture in the midst of diversity. Let Indian Literatures pave way for real unity and integrity. I once again thank Dr. Innasi, on your behalf and on mine for the golden opportunity offered to us.



Dedicated with gratitude  
to the holy memory of  
His grace the Most rev. Archbishop  
**DR. G. CASIMIR GNANADICKAM S.J., D.SC., D.D.**



We did not see you close your eyes  
We did not see you die  
All we heard was you were gone  
Without a last good bye

A light from our midst is gone  
A voice we loved is stilled  
A place is vacant in our hearts  
That never can be filled.